Global Mobilities and Tourism Development

A community perspective

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Contents

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Community, Development and Tourism in the 21st Century

In the past three decades, development studies and policies have increasingly focused on the role of communities in the implementation of development initiatives in the Global South. The contributions that make up this anthology attempt to get a deeper understanding of how three phenomena – *community, development and tourism* – interrelate. This chapter reviews recent and contemporary perspectives in development and tourism studies on generating social change with a particular emphasis on the role of communities in local development. By revisiting and challenging various theoretical notions on the *community*, we are putting forward a novel conceptualization of communities.

Generating equitable social change

The turn of the new millennium marked a shift in development paradigms, now centred on pro-poor growth and human development, including tourism strategies as another tool for generating growth through creating local participation and ownership. Human development, and sustainable tourism has become, or become a part of, a model for development and the establishment of new forms of tourism such as sustainable tourism and development in which the economic benefits received by destination communities were a significant concern (e.g. Hall and Lew 1998)

As an academic discipline and as a development policy "human development has emerged as a multidisciplinary paradigm, integrating people-focused analysis in a frame directed to development strategy" (Jolly 2011: 27). The notion of pro-poor development (Kakwani and Pernia 2000) contests the idea of the 'trickle-down' effect of growth put forward by the advocates of modernization in the 1960s and 70s. Pro-poor development takes its point of departure in the well-being of marginalized members of the community, and suggests that empowering and increasing the capabilities of the poor will enable them to make choices of their own (Sen 1999). Pro-poor growth has an enduring effect as it "enables the poor to actively participate in and significantly benefit from economic activity" (Kakwani and Pernia 2000: 3).

Introducing pro-poor development and pro-poor growth in development policies have emphasized similar priorities in dealing with communities. Sustainability, participation and empowerment have become keywords for both academics and practitioners (Mikkelsen 2005; Chambers 2006). A discussion and rethinking of the notion of 'community' must therefore include a brief presentation and discussion of these key issues within development and tourism research. Both domains agree that 'sustainable development' must be embedded within the community, that is, through participative involvement and empowerment of local residents.

Participation

The rationale for local participation is straightforward: if the poor, the targeted beneficiary, remain outside of the circle of the tourism economy, tourism means nothing or little to them. Specifically, local participation is believed to be able to create larger and balanced economic opportunities for the local poor, increasing local tolerance and positive attitudes to tourism development, and facilitate the implementation of the principles of sustainable tourism (Tosun 2005). Community studies focusing on location-based (as opposed to individually oriented) strategies (Emery and Flora 2006) and civic engagement are concerned about the explicit involvement of the community (Mikkelsen 2005). In developing a sense of common good, such communities are seen as storied places of learning and dwelling, performed through narratives of participatory democra-

cy (Jamal and Watt 2011). This has also raised questions about how to build enduring and viable partnerships, and collaborations between the different stakeholders, which will enhance the effectiveness, efficiency, harmony and equity of tourism development (Timothy 1998; Selin and Chavez 1995; Bramwell and Lane 2000; Bramwell and Sharman 1999; Burns 1999; Burns et al 2004).

Sustainability

The ideas encapsulated within the 'philosophy of sustainable tourism' are influential in development studies, and hence have great importance beyond discussions of culture. The interest in more responsible and inclusive modes of development of tourism initiatives and management has been accompanied by a commitment to comprehensive approaches to development oriented towards the community and the goals of all stakeholders (Simpson 200l). The current decade has seen further revisions of the development concept in tourism with increased attention being given to equity dimensions of sustainable development. This entails a renewed interest in the community and local participation as critical elements in achieving development goals (e.g. Reid 2003; Scheyvens 2002) While local participation has been addressed in the field of development studies (Mikkelsen 2005, Cooke and Kothari 2001), tourism strategies are often developed according to agendas devised outside of the communities which are affected by tourism. Furthermore communities are seldom organized to tackle the complexities of the tourism market or other business initiatives introduced by external actors (donors, national and local governments). Even though national governments provide regulatives or guidelines, these actors often follow agendas that may be potentially at odds with local interests and development ambitions. However, both researchers and policy makers tend to take an essentialist notion of the 'community'- as a homogeneous social entity bound to a specific geographical location. These constructions limit our understanding of participatory development and there is a need to reflect upon how socially constructed ideas and images of community are reproduced and affect tourism development projects and policy planning.

Rethinking Community

We argue that global mobilities is challenging traditional conceptualizations of the community, and there is time to rethink this notion by explicitly nuancing the idea of locals as a prerequisite of bottom-up change and community-based participation.

Development that has the capacity to change the way societies relate to the natural and social world has been ruled out of order through a particular, eco-centric interpretation of 'sustainable development' especially within tourism practices. It is an ideology that, while rhetorically anthropocentric (by stressing 'empowerment' of the 'community'); involves tying development prospects for local residents that may conflict with eco-centric notions of sustainable development (Saarinen 2006). Indeed, any formulation of sustainable development will inevitably reside on prior conceptions of the natural world, development, and the relationship between the two, and these are contested (Urry and MacNaghten 1998; Redclift 1990).

Theorizing Community

Looking into earlier conceptualizations of the community, four broad positions come to the fore; the first emerging from a traditional approach in development studies which associates community with disadvantaged urban localities and requiring government supported responses and civic voluntarism such as community regeneration, community health programs etc. From this perspective, the community is spatially bound, disempowered and has to be helped by institutionalised/governmental actors in mainstream "society". The second position emerges from sociology and cultural anthropology where the community is the bedrock of identification and belonging, illuminating discussions on cultural identity, contrasting evolving notions of the "Self" versus the "Other". It designates both an idea of belonging and a particular social phenomenon, such as expressions of longing for community, the search for meaning and solidarity, and collective identities. The third position is inspired by postmodern politics and radical democracy, envisaging the community in terms of political consciousness and collective action. The emphasis is on the capacities of the collective "we" opposing injustice. A fourth, but

less clear-cut position has emerged around global communications and transnational mobilities, where community becomes cosmopolitanized and constituted in new relations of proximity and distance. Here, digital and transport technologies play a crucial role in reshaping social relations beyond the singularised spatial, cultural and/or political identifiers of membership and belonging. The fourth perspective suggests that cosmopolitanized communities cut across different scales and dimensions. It acknowledges that communities are variable, omnipresent and cannot simply be equated with a single place or a specific group. Communities cannot be reduced to an abstract idea stripped from globalized social relations, discourses and historical milieu.

Social and political scientists, and historians and philosophers have been divided in their understanding of the term community. Sociologists usually defined community as a particular form of social organization based on small groups, such as neighbourhood, the small town or a spatially bounded locality, whereas anthropologists use community as culturally defined groups. In other usages, community refers to political community where the emphasis is on citizenship, self-government, civil society and collective identity, whereas historical and philosophical studies have focused more on the idea of community as an ideology or utopia. The popularity of community can be seen as a response to the crisis of solidarity and belonging that has been exacerbated and at the same time has been induced by globalization. However, 'modernity' cannot escape the search for community, which may be inescapable as much as it is unattainable.

With the turn of the millennium the term community is revitalized by transnational and cosmopolitan theories as they often deal with cultural struggles and conflicts over belonging. The problems of the modern social and political order gave rise to the utopia of a perfect community. From Sir Thomas More through Locke and Rousseau to Marx, modern thought believed in the possibility of political community either within or beyond the state (Gustafsson, Clausen and Velázquez 2008).

In this anthology, we posit that communities are more discursively constituted. In an increasingly mobile, rootless and individualised society, the issue of belonging has become more acute. However, when we talk about community it is important to acknowledge other than Eurocentric perspectives on understanding communities. This implies the abandonment of distinction between the 'real' versus the 'imagined' community. Territorial notions of community are different from the socially constructed and post-territorial community. Virtual communities, New Age communities, gay communities, national and ethnic communities are more than just social imaginaries; they have a powerful capacity to define new situations and thereby construct social reality. As Cornelius Castoriadis (1987) has argued, the radical imaginary is a powerful part of the constitution of every social formation and deeply embedded in the psyche and in the social bond. In terms of Anderson's theory on imagined communities we may also say that community has an imagined cognitive capacity to define the spheres of life that cannot be grasped in the immediacy. Modern society has increased the range and also the need for such cognitive experiences. Where national frames of experience and imagination are breaking down, community remains resilient, in many cases providing the basic models, cognitive frames and symbolic resources for the creation of other discourses.

Community then is thought to be more lean and flexible. This requires leaving the traditional conception of community as territorially bound, small-scale social entity, united by traditional values and embrace a view of community as globally networked, heterogeneous and ideologically diverse. While offering a sense of belonging and thus an antidote to the experience of homelessness and insecurity, the community is ultimately unable to resist the forces of globalization and the alternative it offers is merely a comfortable illusion based on imaginaries.

In his book, *The Symbolic Structure of Community*, Cohen (1985) provides one of the most influential arguments in the community debate – community is to be understood less as a social practice than a symbolic structure. This argument shifted the focus away from earlier notions of the community based on locality to a concern about meaning and identity. This cul-

tural approach is also reflected in Anderson's book (*Imagined Communities* 1991) stating that the "imagined" rather than a specific form of social interaction is an essential element in the understanding of community construction. Community, according to Anderson, is shaped by cognitive and symbolic structures that are not underpinned by "lived" spaces and immediate forms of social intimacy. Even though his study focuses on national community it is used extensively in several analyses of smaller towns and regions. As stated by Amit (2002) this approach inevitably led to a loss of the social dimension of community and an excessive concern with the cultural dimension, highlighting what separates people rather than what unites them or what they have in common (Barth 1969).

Community has for a long time been a contested notion within society, acknowledging the malfunctions of and offering an alternative to society and the state. Community is in a sense an expression of the search for social bonds and networks destroyed by modernity, a quest for an irretrievable past, which might not have even existed, in the first place as Bauman has argued (2001). However, the search for community cannot be seen as only a backward-looking rejection of modernity, or a nostalgic plea for the recovery of something lost; it is an expression of very present values and of a condition that is central to the experience of life today which we may call the experience of communicative belonging in an insecure world.

Contributions of the anthology

This anthology attempts to shed light on and encapsulate new forms and understandings of community through an interdisciplinary approach. We do not only seek to reinsert the social dimension and partially recover a sense of place that has been displaced by the cultural turn, but also explore the scope and boundaries of (sustainable) community participation. Claiming that contemporary communities are social and symbolic structures sprawling across multiple scales of belonging, we call for sensitive attention to the networked agency of highly unstable, fluid and very open individualized groups.

The contributors of this volume represent a variety of academic fields and accordingly take different theoretical, disciplinary and empirical approaches to the study of community, tourism and development.

Florencia Quesada discusses conflicts over land in coastal towns on Costa Rica's Atlantic coast. She analyses the conflict as part of the broader spatial reconfiguration of a tourist destination and the uneven relationships between power and interests (state, municipality, local organizations, the community, and entrepreneurs) in the struggle to control a "tourist space". Studies of micro-level responses to tourism like the land rights conflict in Southern Caribbean, raises an interesting conceptual question about the relationship between tourism, place and power. The demands and needs to empower local communities as a means of realizing the sustainable development of tourism development are also important. Quesada argues that the examination of distinctive processes of local adaptation and response to tourism needs to be understood in the context of a locality's history, since every village has its own structure and history, which must be a key component in tourism development and planning.

Helene Balslev Clausen challenges the general view on community based tourism and participatory development. She explores the failure of development initiatives and contests that explanations may be more complex than lack of local community ownership and participation. Clausen suggests to pay closer attention to the logics of what constitutes a community's interconnectedness, without relying on Eurocentric notions of development, sustainability and participation as a baseline for generating community-based tourism development.

Mario Velázquez's contribution aims at demonstrating some of the paradoxes in the federal tourism development program 'Pueblos Mágicos' in Mexico. Even though the program has documentedly contributed to growth in terms of official indicators for local development, it has been uneven, mainly concentrated in areas and groups directly related to the tourism industry. Velázquez argues that growth generated by the national tourism program Pueblos Mágicos will not be sustainable at a medi-

um and long term, but will result increased differences between different groups and the local decision making processes.

Julia Jänis and Oona Timonen analyse the emerging phenomenon "volunteer tourism" through a case study of a Zambian children's home. Voluntourism has been addressed by both tourism studies and development studies, sensitive to the opportunities and challenges of intercultural learning and solidarity through encounters from which both hosts and guests are expected to benefit. The findings highlight contested notions of freedom, hierarchy and specific dynamics between children and volunteers. By contextualising these findings in the current theoretical literature on volunteerism and volunteer tourism the chapter brings to the fore current major challenges of this form of tourism from the viewpoint of both tourism studies and development studies.

Stig Jensen discusses perspectives on poverty reducing effects of ecotourism in the Global South. Implementation of sustainability has been based on combining ecotourism, nature conservation and development with poverty reducing effects in the Global South. Jensen demonstrates that instead of benefiting local communities, nature conservation in established national parks may contribute to marginalization of rural communities excluded from parks and he questions the contribution of ecotourism markets to the improvement of living conditions for the poorest in and around protected nature areas.

Vibeke Andersson presents a number of themes (mobility, community, governance, responsibility, and 'destination') pertaining to tourism governance in the Global South. The Bolivian government has introduced a comprehensive world view based on 'Pacha Mama' (Mother Earth), which the country's tourism strategy is based on. Based on an analysis of the Bolivian national tourism strategy, Andersson contends that community tourism (or rather: communitarian tourism) is a governance approach, aiming at including Bolivian villages in the overall state policy of 'vivir bien' (wellbeing), which stands in strong contrast with western development policies.

Tazim Jamal, Christine M. Budke and Ingrid Barradas-Bribiesca are pointing towards future avenues for achieving sustainability. This contribution takes up where existing critiques of sustainable development and sustainable tourism have left off. Jamal, Budke and Barradas-Bribiesca argue specifically for greater attention to "situated knowledges" , local voices (rather than the domination of science and managerialism), non-human stakeholders (e.g., animals) and feminine values that generally tend to be eschewed by dominant modernist and scientific discourses (e.g., emotion, care, health, and gendered perspectives). In line with the 'Pacha Mama' policies of Bolivia the authors propose a holistic *One Health* metaphor to guide sustainable development and offer preliminary directions for such a paradigm shift that incorporates intangible dimensions and non-human stakeholders that tend to get subsumed within larger narratives of "ecosystem management".

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Sustainable Tourism Planning, and the Demolition Conflict in the South Caribbean Coastal Area of Costa Rica

"I think that in the future to come we might have to leave this coast. The government have the first fifty meters in front of the sea that they call the *Zona Turística* (Tourist Zone) and the next hundred and fifty meter is for the Municipality. You get no title for the land, don't mind how long you been there. So the government has two hundred meter from the sea in, and they can just do what they feel, can dispossess you of it. We don't know what will happen in a couple years to come. They may come and pay you, and you just have to leave. They may want to sell to some rich people that want to make a tourist zone. If they want the place, not even a title do you any good."

Selven Bryant, resident of Old Harbour
(Paula Palmer, "What happened")

Introduction

In 1979, the anthropologist Paula Palmer published her seminal ethnographical study on the history of Costa Rica's Talamanca Coast: "What Happen" (Palmer 2005). Selven Bryant, one of her interviewees, predicted, in a way, the land-rights conflict on the Southern Caribbean coast of Costa Rica. These coastal towns (Cahuita, Puerto Viejo and Manzanillo) have been in the "eye of the storm" since 2011, because some of the properties in the coastal area supposedly violate Law 6043, the Law of the Maritime and Terrestrial Zone (LMTZ), enacted in 1977.[1] The case of Manzanillo was slightly different, since it was located in the Gandoca-Manzanillo Wildlife Refuge.

Cahuita and Puerto Viejo were isolated rural towns composed mainly of Afro-descendant populations until the end of the 1970s. Cacao and coconut production were the most important economic activities in these remote villages, complemented by agriculture and fishing (Palmer 2005). In 1978, a devastating plant disease, monilia (*Moniliophthora roreri*), arrived, a fungus which destroyed the cacao plantations and plunged the region into a deep economic crisis. Tourism became the only economic alternative for the inhabitants of these coastal towns. Nowadays, the region depends on tourism.

This article analyses tourism planning and the land rights conflict in some of the tourist towns in South Caribbean Costa Rica – Puerto Viejo and Manzanillo – (the case of Cahuita is not examined in this article), within the context of global coastal tourism development and power relationships (Bianchi 2003; Nost 2012). The study attempts to understand the conflict as part of the broader spatial reconfiguration of a tourist destination and the uneven relationships between power and interests (state, municipality, local organizations, the community, and entrepreneurs) in the struggle to control a "tourism space".

1 *The LMTZ is the two hundred meter wide strip of land along the Caribbean and Pacific littorals of Costa Rica. The MTZ is divided into two sections: the Public Zone, which is the fifty-metre wide strip of land, counting from the ordinary high tide and the area left uncovered at low tide, and the Restricted Zone consisting of the remaining one hundred and fifty meter strip of land. The 150 meter area can be given as a concession by the State under certain circumstances for a fixed period of years, which can be renewed.*

The research also examines the role of the various stakeholders taking part in this process, their interests, needs and demands. Special emphasis is on analysis of the role of the ICT, Costa Rican Tourism Board and its sustainable tourism principles, the Municipality of Talamanca, the IAD, Integral Associations of Development of Manzanillo and Puerto Viejo, and the FCS, *Foro Caribe Sur*. The latter is an organized movement created in 2013 in Puerto Viejo for the defence of the historical land rights of the inhabitants of the Southern Caribbean.

As suggested by Bianchi (Bianchi 2003), studies of micro-level responses to tourism like the land-rights conflict in South Caribbean raises an interesting conceptual question about the relationship between tourism, place and power. The demand and need to empower local communities as a means of realizing sustainable tourism development are also important.

I argue that the examination of distinctive processes of local adaptation and the response to tourism needs to be understood in the context of a locality's history, since every village has its own structure and history, which must be a key component in tourism development and planning.

Summing up, the analyses of local tourism, planning and development generates a valuable discussion about the rise of the global tourism business, its role and potential as an agent of economic growth and sustainable development on a local scale. Governments and stakeholders have a responsibility to ensure that the interests of the communities and their quality of life and the environment, one of the basic principles of sustainability, are not imperilled in the development of tourism planning (Hall 2008).

Coastal tourism development and the demolition conflict

In March 2012, the Office of the CGR, Comptroller General of the Republic of Costa Rica, requested the Municipality of Talamanca to evaluate several buildings that might be violating the LMTZ in South Caribbean (Puerto Viejo and Cahuita), and verify if they were legally constructed. If it was not the case, then the CGR urged the Municipality to take the

appropriate judicial and administrative steps before 30 November 2012.[2] A similar situation arose in the village of Manzanillo, located within the Wildlife Refuge Gandoca-Manzanillo at that time.

According to CGR authorities, they never demanded an eviction or the demolition of any building, asking the Municipality instead to verify the legal status of those buildings and, if they were violating the law, then to proceed to demolition.[3] Thus, the CGR's petition initiated one of the most important land rights conflicts arising over tourism development in South Caribbean.

A two-year moratorium was decreed by the State at the end of 2012 (9073, Law for the Protection of the Occupants of Classified Special Zones),[4] to find a legal solution not only for South Caribbean, but also for other cases in various parts of Costa Rica.

Why was there a sudden interest in reinforcing the LMTZ? The whole conflict supposedly started out from a complaint by a Puerto Viejo inhabitant to the CGR to verify the legal status of a particular dwelling built in the MTZ. This complaint resulted in the report presented to the Municipality. Nevertheless, the so-called demolition conflict in South Caribbean must be analysed in the broader and more multifaceted context of the problems that many coastal towns are undergoing in Costa Rica because of tourism development and mismanagement of the MTZ.

These problems are directly linked to the interest in controlling coastal areas, the lack of tourism and urban planning and – since a coastal Regulatory Plan (RP) has never been approved in South Caribbean – irregularities in granting construction permits in the MTZ by the Municipality, among other things. In other words, as had happened in the Costa Rican

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2 *CGR (Area of research and complaints), Report #DFOE-DI-459, 9 March 2012. The CGR selected a sample of 9 buildings, 6 of them located in Puerto Viejo: 2 private houses, The Lazy Mon Sports & Music Bar, Koki Beach Bar and Restaurant, La Isla Inn hotel and restaurant and El Diamante supermarket, all in Puerto Viejo. There were also 3 in Cahuita: Sobre las Olas restaurant, Hotel National Park Cahuita, and Cabinas Sea Side in Cahuita.*

3 *Jimena Soto, "The Comptroller's Office highlights they never asked for any property demolition in South Caribbean." Costa Rica Hoy, 30 August 2012, accessed 15 January 2014, http://www.crhoy.com/contraloria-nunca-pidio-demolicion-de-propiedades-en-caribe-sur/*

4 *"Ley de Protección a Los Ocupantes de Zonas Clasificadas Como Especiales", published in La Gaceta 163, 25 October 2012.*

Figure 1: "No to the demolition of Southern Caribbean"
Photo: Florencia Quesada

Pacific coast, the management of the MTZ has suffered from weaknesses within both municipal and public institutions.[5]

Many of those issues were denounced by the CGR in 2007 in the Annual Report of the institution. The report highlighted the lack of coherent planning in the MTZ in Costa Rica, and, as a consequence, the municipalities, along with the rest of public institutions involved in the regulation of the MTZ, based their decisions on very dispersed and sometimes contradictory information, with limited knowledge and resources. The CGR also mentioned that the management has been restricted to the approval of permits and concessions without a clear vision that prioritizes local and national development.[6]

What is an RP? The RP is the tool for local planning in Costa Rica. The RP defines development policies, distribution of the population, land-use, public services, communications, construction, preservation, and rehabilitation of urban areas, among other things. It should be revised every five years. The institution in charge of the design of the RP is the

5 *Jorge Cabrera, "Legal and Institutional Framework Related to Coastal Tourism Development: Final report". The Impact of Tourism Related Development along Costa Rica's Pacific coast, 13.*

6 *CGR, Memoria Anual 2007, 40.*

municipality, but it must be presented for analysis and approval to ICT and the INVU, National Institute of Housing and Urbanism; a vast number of other public institutions are also involved in the process. At the same time, the municipality must call for a public hearing and present the RP for approval by the community. During the public hearing, any person in the community can make observations to support or oppose the plan. In the case of the design of an RP in the MTZ, the ICT has an important role along with the municipality in the elaboration of the RP. Without the approval of an RP, the State cannot give any concessions within the MTZ (IFAM 2003).

On the Costa Rican Pacific coast, only 16.3% of the coastal zone had approved an RP for the organization and regulation of the communities and villages in 2010.[7] Within the context of Costa Rica's tourism development and its dramatic growth in the past 30 years (Honey 2008), the lack of planning has had very negative effects on many coastal communities, as in South Caribbean, where an RP has never been approved.[8]

During recent years, the bulk of tourism investment in Central America has concentrated on "sun and sand" destinations in coastal areas (Cañada 2010). In Costa Rica, up to 34% of the hotels are located on the coastline, and 15% are directly located in the MTZ (Lizano 2011). In short, coasts are the hot spots of tourism development. Therefore, as openly expressed by ICT's chief of tourist planning and development, Rodolfo Lizano, the "sustainable" use of the coastline, especially the MTZ, is one of the strategic goals of tourism development in Costa Rica (Lizano 2011), which is the case in the study area.

Puerto Viejo has been categorized as a nature, "sun-sand", and cultural destination.[9] It is considered by the ICT as the centre of tourism development on the South Caribbean coast. In this region, there is additional

7 *Programa Estado de la Nación, "Estado de la Nación en la zona marino costera," 35.*

8 *From 2001-2013 the number of international tourist arrivals to Costa Rica grew from 1 131 406 to 2 427 941. ICT, Anuario Estadístico de Turismo, 2001, 2014. In the per capita growth of international tourist arrivals to Latin America from 2000 through 2010, Costa Rica was among the top five in Latin America. Kirk Bowman, Peddling Paradise. The politics of tourism in Latin America, 40.*

9 *Instituto Costarricense de Turismo. Actualización Plan General de Uso de la Tierra y Desarrollo Turístico para las Unidades de Planeamiento Turístico del Caribe Norte y Caribe Sur, 58-59.*

pressure to control the "free areas" on the coastline, since the majority of the territory is protected (the Cahuita National Park and Gandoca-Manzanillo Wildlife Refuge). Furthermore, Talamanca (where Puerto Viejo is located) is the canton with the greatest number of protected areas in Costa Rica (almost 90% of its territory). The coastline is where tourism development is concentrated, and whence Talamanca Municipality derives most of its taxes.

The conflict can also be understood as part of an overlapping of stages, as one of the main characteristics of tourism development in Central America (Román 2008). Many areas, like South Caribbean, moved directly from agrarian economies to tourism economies without being prepared for such a momentous transformation. These rural communities still lack some of the most basic infrastructure and services (like a sewage system in the case of Puerto Viejo), besides the absence of general tourism-urban planning.

Tourism planning, development and sustainability

To have a better understanding of the (re)configuration of space in tourism, it is necessary to evaluate the relationship between the hierarchically organized social actors and their differential conceptions of space within the context of tourism and development processes (Bianchi 2003). Whoever makes the decisions in tourism planning will also determine who the beneficiaries are. As Mowforth and Munt argue, the acceptance of the political nature of development means that any analysis of development, and of tourism development, must be informed by an examination of the structure of power and privilege relating to decisions made about that development (Mowforth and Munt 2008).

In Costa Rica, the State plays an important role in defining the nature and scope of private intervention in tourism. The ICT is the institution in charge of this duty. Besides planning tourism development, the ICT's main tasks include attracting and assessing investors, development of quality and competitiveness systems, and generation of information for decision-making, among others.

According to ICT's goals, one of the most important institutional principles is the concept of sustainability: "a fundamental axis of tourism activity considered as the main factor characterizing the national tourism product."[10] Therefore, for ICT tourism development should be promoted in a way that will "contribute effectively and constructively against any form of social degradation, generating economic benefits, protecting the environment, and supporting our people's culture and values."[11]

ICT has been successfully promoting tourism development as a destination brand for 16 years under the slogan "no artificial ingredients" (Rivers-Moore 2007), recently replaced (2013) by the brand marketing of "Essential Costa Rica". [12] The new brand was a joint effort between the public and private sectors (including the ICT; COMEX, the Ministry of Foreign Trade; PROCOMER, the Export Promotion Agency of Costa Rica, and CINDE, the Costa Rican Investment Promotion Agency), to promote tourism, boost exports and attract investment. The country's brand seeks to position Costa Rica not only as a natural beauty destination, a country that protects its environment (Green Costa Rica), but also as a peaceful and democratic country with high levels of education, health, technology and innovation; an appropriate country for foreign investment. The essential brand is based on the principles of sustainability.

In other words, in both ICT's marketing and main goals, sustainability is the backbone of tourism development in Costa Rica. How does ICT define the complex and much criticized concept of sustainable tourism? According to ICT, "sustainable tourism must be seen as the balanced interaction between the use of the natural and cultural resources, the improvement of the quality of life among the local communities, and the economic success of the industry, which also contributes to national development."[13]

Nevertheless, the story is very different when it comes to putting the principles of sustainability into practice. Let's examine the case of South

10 *"ICT mission", ICT website, accessed 21 June 2014. http://www.visitcostarica.com/ict/paginas/TourismBoard.asp*

11 *Idem.*

12 *Promotional video, http://www.esencialcostarica.com/video_marca_pais.php#*

13 *ICT website, accessed 23 June 2014. http://www.visitcostarica.com/ict/paginas/sostenibilidad.asp?tab=4*

Caribbean carefully, specifically the case of Puerto Viejo. The ICT has an important role in the elaboration of the coastal RP since it is located in the MTZ. Failed attempts have been made by the Talamanca Municipality supported by ICT to approve an RP for Puerto Viejo, since the community opposed the proposals on several occasions.

Why has it been so difficult to approve a coastal RP in this tourist region? To answer that question, it is necessary to analyse the ICT goals for South Caribbean and the value and significance they attribute to the landscape in the context of tourism development.

For the ICT, Puerto Viejo, the main regional tourist centre, should overall be devoted to tourism development and tourist interests. For the ICT, the control of the MTZ is important for two reasons.[14]

It is a vital space for tourist "patrimony" with high value and attractions associated with the sea, sand, and the forest.

MTZ is the area with high-quality tourist products that contributes to the competitiveness of the tourist destination.

As proposed by Bianchi, "tourism spaces reflect the contest over the meaning and 'appropriate' use to which particular places should be devoted" (Bianchi 2003). In this case, the value and transformation of Puerto Viejo into a tourist destination ascribe a different value and significance to the landscape in the context of tourism development, as reflected in ICT's conception of MTZ and its primary transformation into a tourist destination.

Those goals can be seen clearly on paper in the Updated General Plan of Land Distribution and Tourism Development proposed by ICT for South Caribbean (Figure 2).[15] The red areas, which belong to the MTZ, are mainly conceived as the nucleus of the tourist attractions, and the

14 *"Manual for the elaboration of coastal planning in the maritime and terrestrial zone", Alcance No. 58, La Gaceta No. 63, 2 April 2013.*

15 *The analysis of this plan is important since it was the first one proposed by ICT for the reorganization of the space in Puerto Viejo, but the community has never approved it.*

light blue and blue areas are the zones outside the MTZ, the nucleus of the community, whereas the violet spots are for community-residential areas.[16]

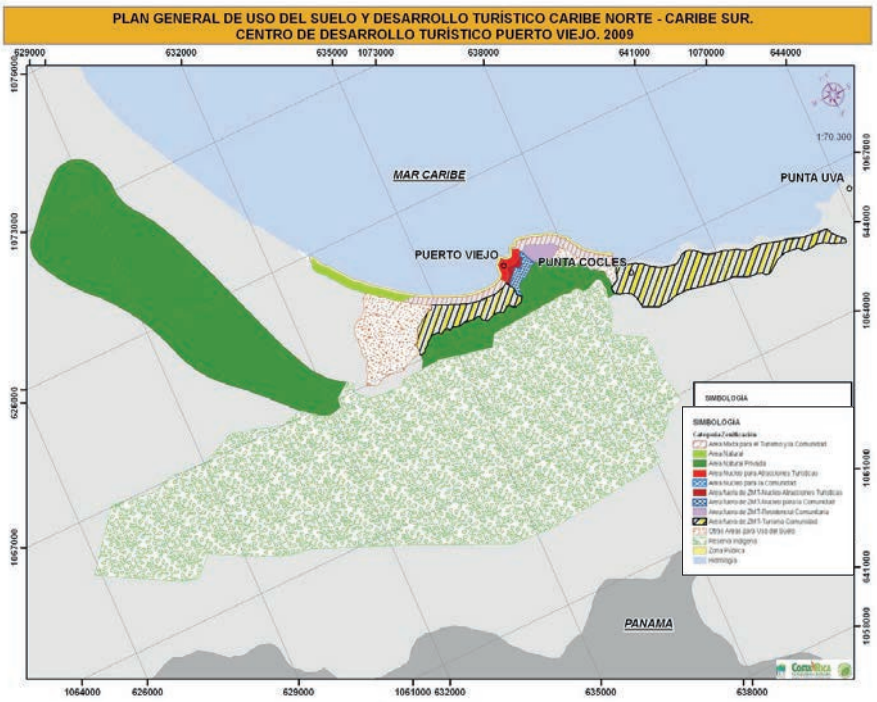

Figure 2: Updated General Plan of land distribution and tourism development, South Caribbean. Centre of tourism development, Puerto Viejo, 2009

Source: ICT. Actualización Plan General de Uso de la Tierra y Desarrollo Turístico para las Unidades de Planeamiento Turístico del Caribe Norte y Caribe Sur. By Macroprocesamiento de Planeamiento y Desarrollo, 87.

16 *ICT, Actualización Plan General de Uso de la Tierra y Desarrollo Turístico para las Unidades de Planeamiento Turístico del Caribe Norte y Caribe Sur, 89.*

For the ICT, Puerto Viejo, selected as the tourist centre at a regional level with high value and great potential for tourist development, should be reorganized according to the logic of the competitiveness of the tourist destination and in accordance with the LMTZ, which means the reorganization of the traditional space in Puerto Viejo, and the relocation of the community to the periphery of the tourism destination.

What about the value and significance of the place for the community of Puerto Viejo? For the Afro-Caribbean populations living in those spaces, for more than a century, Puerto Viejo represents their roots, the land where they were born and to which they belong. Puerto Viejo, Cahuita and Manzanillo have a long history of settlement along the South Caribbean coastal area, which was not taken into consideration when it was redefined, at least on paper, with mainly tourism interests in mind.

Perversely, the Afro-Caribbean culture is one of the main tourist "attractions" in the region for the ICT, but in terms of planning, the inhabitants have been regarded as an extraneous component that should be resettled in a different area since they won't fit into that space of the official high-quality tourist destination. It also contradicts the sustainable tourism principles that the ICT proclaims, since the community of Puerto Viejo has a secondary importance in the new reorganization of the tourist destination that will not benefit the "improvement of the quality of life among the local communities", one of the aims the ICT promotes as part of their sustainability principles.

Instead of considering Puerto Viejo's inhabitants as central to the reorganization of the tourist space and the tourist destination, they sought to relocate them to a new area outside the traditional places they have been living in for decades. In other words, Puerto Viejo for the ICT is a tourist space that should be reorganized according to the interest they want to promote and according to the LMTZ. Here lies the reason for the rejection of several proposals made in the past.

The community represented by all the IAD, the main NGOs (ATEC, Talamanca Association of Ecotourism and Conservation; ACBTC, the Association of Organizations of the Talamanca-Caribbean Biological Corridor), also voted against the previous RP proposals because of the lack of an environmental impact assessment that could measure the long-term impact of tourism planning in Southern Caribbean.

The ICT's role in tourist planning has been criticized not only in South Caribbean but also in other parts of Costa Rica since it has been carried out without proper integration with agencies overseeing local development, conservation and national planning (Honey 2008, Picón and Baltodano 2006).

At the moment, the Municipality of Talamanca is preparing a new RP, still not accessible to the public, for the coastal area of South Caribbean (Puerto Viejo and Cahuita). The elaboration of an RP for the coastal area is in the hands of a special commission appointed by the Municipality of Talamanca, composed by members of the; SINAC, the National System of Conservation Areas, IAD of Manzanillo and Puerto Viejo (leaders of both associations), and other leaders in the community invited by Talamanca's mayor. At the same time, other public institutions are involved or consulted in the process such as SETENA, the National Environmental Technical Secretariat; INVU, National Institute of Housing and Planning, and UNA, the National University, among others. According to Talamanca's mayor, a first draft of the coastal RP will be ready by mid 2015 for submission for approval at a public hearing in the community.[17]

In the context of the demolition conflict, a set of new laws, discussed later in this article, has been passed by the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica. One of those bills, 9242 (Law for the Regularization of the Existent Constructions in the Restricted Zone of the Maritime Terrestrial Zone),[18] states the necessity of approving an RP by June 2016 to legally grant concessions within the MTZ. In the new legal scenario, there is strong pressure for the approval of an RP, and at the same time, a great deal of expectation and concern within the community apropos the reorganization of the village of Puerto Viejo, centre of tourism development in South Caribbean.

Summing up, the complexities of the planning process in a tourism area – now with the scenario of the demolition conflict – with all the tensions and disputes this conflict has created in the community, makes it even harder to find an easy and successful path for the approval of an RP in South Caribbean. As mentioned before, the complexity lies in the di-

17 *Melvin Cordero, mayor of Talamanca. Interview 30 July 2014.*

18 *"Ley Para la Regularización de las Construcciones Existentes en la Zona Restringida de la Zona Marítima Terrestre", published in La Gaceta 109, 9 June 2014.*

verse and various actors involved in the elaboration of an RP (the municipality with limited resources, the State institutions directly and indirectly involved, and the various actors and interests in these multicultural communities),[19] and the priorities in the transformation of the tourism destination –until now far from sustainable tourism principles.

At the same time, a major problem in the reconfiguration of the tourism destination is the lack of recognition of the land rights of the Afro-descendants living in Puerto Viejo, some of them many decades before the approval of the LMTZ, which poses another major legal problem. For all these reasons, the approval of an RP appears to be extremely difficult to achieve in such a short period of time as demanded in bill 9242, crucial for the sustainable tourism development of South Caribbean.

The demolition conflict and the response of the community

The demolition conflict created a strong reaction in South Caribbean that sparked a debate about the land rights issues, the lack of tourism and urban planning, and the problems in the management of protected areas. At the same time, it raised other ethnic, historical and cultural issues within these multicultural coastal communities, composed of a high percentage of Afro-descendants that had been historically forgotten and racially stigmatized by the Costa Rican State (Bourgeois 1994, Harpelle 2001, Putnam 2002, Christian 2013).

There was also a powerful reaction to the report, because the demolition of two hotels in the mixed Wildlife Refuge of Gandoca-Manzanillo (Hotel Las Palmas and Suerre) after a 20-year legal battle in which the owner of both hotels was found guilty because of environmental destruction in the refuge was still fresh in people's minds.

The demolition conflict has promoted the organization of the coastal communities since 2012. After the report presented to the Municipality of Talamanca by the CGR, the local power groups in the region such as the IAD, unions, tourism boards, NGOs, many of the inhabitants from Cahuita and Puerto Viejo, and the Municipality of Talamanca gathered

19 *For example, the interests of the Afro-descendants can be very different from those of foreigners or other locals from different parts of Costa Rica that are actively involved in the process.*

at a public meeting with, at the time, the Legislative Assembly deputy Walter Céspedes (PUSC, the Social Christian Unity Party), to propose a strategy and to find a legal solution to the conflict.[20] This meeting back in April 2012 was the first one of an intensive two-year process of discussions, proposals, conflicts and disagreements amongst the leaders of the various groups, associations and active inhabitants of the Puerto Viejo and Cahuita communities.

In the case analysed in this article, I will concentrate on the Puerto Viejo region, which includes the villages of Puerto Viejo, Cocles, Manzanillo, and Gandoca. The demolition conflict case involved two different legal situations. The first one was about the supposed violation of the MTZ that mainly affected some buildings in the village of Puerto Viejo, while the other was about the same situation but located within the mixed Wildlife Refuge of Gandoca-Manzanillo, which affected the village of Manzanillo. Therefore, two main differentiated groups can be identified in the conflict.

The first was centred on the IAD of Manzanillo and Puerto Viejo, and supported by the majority of the inhabitants of the village of Manzanillo, the Municipality of Talamanca, CATCCAS, The South Caribbean Tourism and Business; ADECOMAGA, the Ecological Development Association of Cocles, Manzanillo and Gandoca, among the most important.[21] There was also important support from the MINAET, Ministry of the Environment, Energy and Telecommunications, since they elaborated the technical report, which was the basis for the legal justification of a new delimitation of the Refuge, excluding the village of Manzanillo (Masís Segura et al. 2012).

The other organized group, and the only movement created by the conflict, is the FCS, which is why I will analyse it further in the second part of this section.

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20 *"Protestan en Talamanca por demolición de negocios y casas". El País.cr, 2 April 2012, accessed 15 May 2014, http://www.elpais.cr/frontend/noticia_detalle/1/64873*

21 *Manzanillo town also received support from people outside the community, such as a group of students from the United States who founded The Rich Coast Project. http://therichcoastproject.org. The initiative is "a participatory research, storytelling and digital archive project dedicated to protecting the land rights and cultural heritage of the people of the southern Caribbean coast of Costa Rica."*

After some years of discussions and failed proposals at the Costa Rican Legislative Assembly, and heated disputes inside the community, three different bills were approved in 2014 with the support of the first group. The first one is 9223, Recognition of the Rights of the Inhabitants of the South Caribbean.[22] This law with a single article changed the limits of the Wildlife Refuge of Gandoca-Manzanillo, excluding the town of Manzanillo from the refuge that will now be administered by the Municipality of Talamanca.

Two other parallel laws were also approved by the Legislative Assembly as part of the demolition conflict "combo"; the 9242. The goal of this law is to legalize the use of the MTZ, granting concessions to the inhabitants for a fixed period of years. The concession obliges the dweller to pay a tax for the use of the land. Because of this law there is an urgent need to pass an RP, since the law demands it before 9 June 2016.

The third law is 9221, Law for the declaration of the coastal urban zone, its use and exploitation. The goal of the law is to create an inter-institutional commission for coastal urban zones (CIZUL) that will determine the technical feasibility for the declaration of an area as a coastal urban zone.[23] The Municipality is now urged to approve a coastal RP for Puerto Viejo, the most urgent measure at the moment. Once the RP plan is approved, each demolition case will be considered separately, and each person will receive a different concession for a fixed period of time. For the mayor of the Municipality of Talamanca, these bills were the best short-term solution that gave legal stability to the inhabitants of South Caribbean.[24]

However, many of the FCS members had a different opinion regarding the new bills passed in 2014, which created a lot of controversy and discussion within the community. For the FCS, there must be an alternative long-term solution rather than the adoption of some of the laws mentioned, as discussed in the following section.

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22 *"Reconocimiento de los Derechos de los Habitantes del Caribe Sur", published in La Gaceta 69, 8 April 2014.*

23 *"Ley Marco para la Declaratoria de Zona Urbana Litoral y su Régimen de Uso y Aprovechamiento Territorial", published in La Gaceta 79, 25 April 2014.*

24 *Melvin Cordero, mayor of Talamanca. Interview 30 July 2014.*

The FCS: Origins, goals and actions

On 23 April 2013, an initiative to found a new community organization to defend the land rights of South Caribbean coastal dwellers was proposed by some active inhabitants of Puerto Viejo; locals and foreigners with more than a decade of living in South Caribbean. A lot of diverse organized groups and associations exist in the area (development associations, fishermen, women, organic agriculture, cultural, sport, etc.), but not a specific group addressing the important problem of the land rights conflict in the coastal areas. Hence many of Puerto Viejo's inhabitants felt there was an urgent need to create a distinctive organization to address the problem, since there was a lot of misinformation, lack of organization and disparate efforts within the community.[25]

The FCS is a social and civic community initiative; non-political, composed of individual members or organizations working towards the defence of the land rights of the population of South Caribbean.[26] The FCS also promotes cultural, legal, social, and environmental actions that will protect the historical rights of the population, their culture, and the environment. The group has been very active within the community as well as in the social media through their blog, and on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.[27]

The FCS is composed of some inhabitants of the village of Puerto Viejo and nearby localities such as Cocles, Playa Chiquita, Gandoca, and even from Cahuita.[28] According to Glenda Halgarson Brown, one of the founders of the group, the FCS's main goals are to fight for the historical land rights, and promote genuine sustainable development planning for the community (instead of the RP proposed by ICT and the Municipality).[29]

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25 *Jesús Gallo and Anita Rodríguez, members of the FCS. Interview 23 July 2014.*

26 *"Foro Caribe Sur for our historical rights" Last modified 1 September 2014. http://forocaribesur.blogspot.fi*

27 *https://www.facebook.com/ForoCaribeSur, https://twitter.com/ForoCaribeSur, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Atm5XeO-VOI, https://twitter.com/forocaribesur.*

28 *The FCS's members comprise a wide representation of this multicultural tourist town, such as Afro-descendants, locals who are not Afro-descendants, as well as other "locals" born in other parts of Costa Rica and foreigners who have been living in the area for several decades and are part of the community.*

29 *Glenda Halgarson Brown, member of the FCS. Interview 11 October 2013.*

Another of the FCS's goals is to get to know their history and cultural heritage. The FCS has been very active in this matter, some of the leaders of the group having done oral history to compile the stories of Puerto Viejo's oldest dwellers, and also organizing a public tribute to them to recognise their historical and cultural heritage.[30] In 2013, they organized an awareness campaign for the defence of their historical land rights and way of living, one of the mottos being "we were born and we live looking at the sea…we won't leave", quoting the midwife of the village, Miss San.[31]

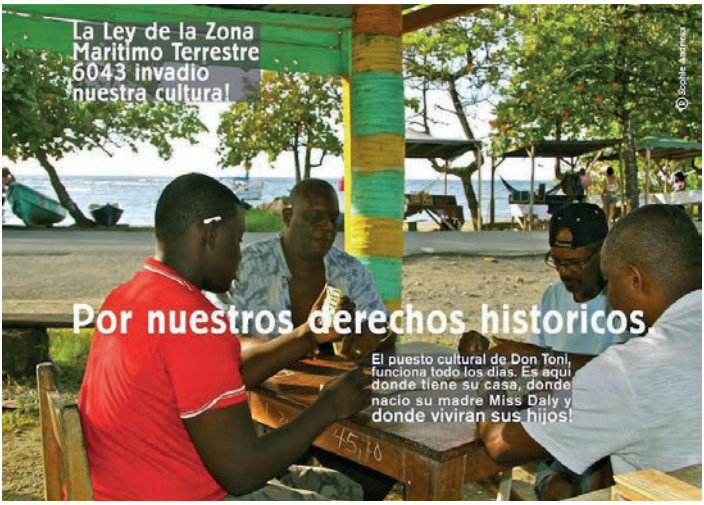

Figure 3: "The FCS's banner against the demolitions"
Source: FCS website, photo Sophie Andrieux

FCS members have had an active role in various movements in recent years. As Jesús Gallo, one of the founding members of the FCS remarks, regarding its creation, it is "a historical movement against many policies by the State like the oil exploitation, and also against the construction of a Marina."[32] In other words, Puerto Viejo has had active community-based movements at several key moments of the region's history. These orga-

30 *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nLOqGzhQbno*
31 *FCS blog, http://forocaribesur.blogspot.fi*
32 *Jesús Gallo, member of the FCS. Interview 23 July 2014.*

nized movements have been fighting for the defence of the region's natural resources, its culture and way of living; many of the key actors in those movements are now members of the FCS.[33]

In relation to some of the bills approved in 2014, many members of the FCS interviewed for this article were of the opinion the concession model will force them to pay high taxes according to the new tourism-zoning plan that will be implemented in the RP (now being drafted), since the town of Puerto Viejo is in the MTZ, a "tourism space". Therefore, they were critical of that legal solution.[34]

At the moment, the main FCS proposal is the creation of a "Law of Special Regime for South Caribbean". The proposal was presented to the President of Costa Rica, Luis Guillermo Solís, during the recent celebrations of the "Day of Black People and the Afro-Costa Rican Culture" in Puerto Viejo (30 August 2014).[35]

The goal of the proposal is to acknowledge the historical rights of the Afro-descendant populations living in the coastal area – many decades before the LMTZ was approved – and allow them to continue having the same development they have had so far. Broadly, the main FCS argument is that the coastal communities of Southern Caribbean (Cahuita, Puerto Viejo, Manzanillo and Gandoca) have had a long history of settlement next to the sea in harmony with nature (Morera and Sandoval 2011), as well as with the indigenous inhabitants of High Talamanca, and this rich and unique culture and history should be recognized and protected.[36]

Paradoxically, as the FCS argues, this traditional way of living is at the heart of the conflict, since the centre of Puerto Viejo's village is located in the MTZ. In theory, the whole town should disappear, reorganize and be devoted to tourism development according to the laws.[37] Therefore, this

33 *The most important struggles of the community have been with the ADELA movement against the oil exploitation in Talamanca and against the proposal to build a Marina in Puerto Viejo. See Suárez and Zeledón 2003.*

34 *María Suárez, member of the FCS. Interview 19 July 2014.*

35 *Idem.*

36 *"Proposal Law of Special Regime for South Caribbean" The proposal was signed by more than 200 families from South Caribbean. ¿Por qué una ley de Régimen Especial para el Caribe Sur? 24 August 2014. http://forocaribesur.blogspot.fi*

37 *María Suárez, member of the FCS. Interview 19 July 2014, Jesús Gallo and Anita Rodríguez, members of the FCS. Interview 23 July 2014.*

is not the best solution for the FCS, because many of the original dwellers will be forced to leave their properties since they won't have the means to pay the high taxes within the reconfiguration of the destination.[38]

Alternatively, the FCS claims for a new legal proposal – and definitive solution – to resolve the land rights conflict "based in an economic socio-cultural history of the region, a model proposed by the community, with middle-sized tourist enterprises, combined with sustainable agriculture and/or small-scale fishing that will protect the environment and the culture (both unique in Costa Rica)."[39]

In other words, the FCS proposes to redefine the tourist destination not only according to tourism development interests, but also and first of all in the communities' interests and their unique and traditional way of life and culture.

The analysis of tourism development and the land rights conflict raises many important issues regarding the definition of what a community is. Most of them concern the cultural and ethnic composition of those communities. These coastal towns, originally consisting of Afro-descendant populations who have both co-existed with and mixed with the indigenous groups from High Talamanca for more than a century, had changed dramatically because of tourism development in the three most recent decades.

The rural communities, isolated until the end of the 1970s, are now composed of a multicultural group with a high percentage of foreigners mainly Nicaraguan, European, U.S. citizens, Panamanian and other South Americans, nationalized foreigners, and people from other parts of Costa Rica (INEC 2011). In other words, these varied groups of people are now all members of Puerto Viejo. The identity of this heterogeneous community has become very complex and hard to define. Many of the "newcomers" are still somewhat apart from the traditional Afro-descendant culture which still represents the majority of the population.

The varied concepts of "community" can also be distinguished through the alliances and activism in the land-rights conflict. Clearly the movement is led by the formal organizations in the region, such as sev-

38 *Neftalí Reyes, member of the FCS and representative of Gandoca village. Interview 25 July 2014, Elena Spencer, of the FCS. Interview 24 July 2014.*

39 *María Suárez, member of the FCS. Interview 19 July 2014.*

eral IADs, the Chamber of Tourism and Commerce, the local institutions like the Municipality of Talamanca, and other NGOs represented by individuals who are active in the community. But, as discussed with the new organization which emerged from the conflict, the FCS also represents a different voice from the community, an independent voice with an alternative solution in the land-rights conflict.

Conclusions

Tourism development needs to situate itself at the heart of current debates regarding the nature of power, processes of globalization and the reconfiguration of communities and new economic spaces for tourism (Bianchi, 2003). The demolition conflict, partly as a consequence of the lack of tourism planning and erroneous actions in the past from the various regional and State institutions involved in the management of the MTZ, is not simply the localised problem of a small tourism region. The conflict is part of broader and more multifaceted issues and interests several coastal towns are suffering from in Costa Rica due to the bad management of the MTZ in the context of tourism development.

Tourism destinations and locations can be conceptualized as places of production and consumption as proposed by Bianchi, in which different interest groups contest the occupation and use of space. In the process of planning a tourist destination, there is always a struggle between stakeholders such as the State and the communities, the business and conservationists, clients and hosts in accordance with a range of distinctive values and interests, as we have seen in the case of South Caribbean.

Since the elaboration in the 2000s of the first General Plan of Land Distribution and Tourism Development for South Caribbean, the ICT had a contradictory role in tourism planning. While it strongly emphasizes the promotion of sustainable tourism development in the area, the communities are left aside in the reconfiguration of the tourism destination, with serious consequences for the communities if those proposals are finally put into practice. The ICT has lacked an overall vision and historical knowledge in tourism planning and has not considered the complex impact those priorities, based only on tourism interests, could have for local communities with a long history of settlement next to the sea.

The difficulty in the tourism planning process in South Caribbean, in the context of the demolition conflict –with all the problems and divisions this conflict has created in the community–, makes it even harder to reach an agreement in the elaboration and approval with the pressure of time (2016) of the much-needed coastal RP.

The complexity not only lies in the number of different actors involved in the elaboration of an RP, but also in the priorities and goals for the transformation of the tourist destination –until the moment remote from the sustainable tourism principles that in theory should guide tourism development in Costa Rica. A fundamental requisite for the success of an RP will be the effective interaction between State, local and regional actors as well as among institutions and with different groups and interests in the community.

South Caribbean communities are key actors in the defence of their historical rights. These communities have had a long history of organization for the defence of their land and cultural rights and in favour of the conservation of nature, which has been an important background factor in Puerto Viejo, and is now reflected again in the creation of the several groups organized during the demolition conflict, especially the FCS, which represents the only organized movement to emerge from the conflict.

The spatial configuration of tourism destination areas should be analysed, as in the case of South Caribbean, in the context of the uneven geographical distribution of the relations between production and the struggle to control or gain access to land, territory and resources. There is still a long way to go in evaluating what the outcome of the reconfiguration of a tourism destination in South Caribbean, Costa Rica, will be.

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Mobilities, Tourism and Development: The Politics of Time in a Mexican Community

Introduction

About one kilometer before we enter the typical Mexican colonial town, Álamos, an impressive high portal constructed of river stones and decorated with colorful exotic flowers welcomes us. Yet it is noteworthy the difference between the impressive portal and the buildings and houses to the city center, these are modest, constructions of concrete or bricks and do not have a uniform style, but can best be described as cubes or rectangles superposed one on the other. For the most part, the doors are made of metal, as are the windows. Rather than being a matter of taste, the use of this material is driven by the need for security. Assorted materials have been used in building these homes, some even seem to be only half-finished. The streets are not cobbled nor are they paved. In some parts, garbage is visible near the sewer drains, and there are oil stains and potholes in the roads. In short, this part of the town looks a lot like many other poor neighborhoods throughout Mexico (Clausen 2008; Clausen and Velázquez 2010). Entering the central plaza the contrast is more than noteworthy. The neighborhoods towards the fertile mountains and picturesque landscapes are notable for having colonial houses painstakingly maintained with beautiful gardens and patios, and streets that are paved with cobbles and entirely clean. In the central plaza is a well-restored

church. The plaza is nicely decorated with palm trees and plants. Yet, on the sidewalk towards the Alameda there is a small unofficial market with eight stalls in poor conditions and a few hand made souvenirs and plastic toys. They are only covered partly with pierced tarpaulins. All other part of the plaza is clean. The houses in this area of the town have impressive wooden or iron doors, framed by bougainvillea and other decorative plants. Some of the houses are even restored with adobe, the traditional material used to build houses. Many of the doors stand ajar or their upper half is kept open, so that it is possible to see the lush gardens sheltered inside. Nevertheless, also significantly for the colonial towns are that only part of the town looks like the above description. The stark contrast between these neighborhoods does also represent the division in the town, not only the obvious differences related to social class and income but also interests, the residents in the historic center and the surrounding neighborhoods towards the mountains are inhabited by North American immigrants who are engaged in generating tourism development in the community whereas the modest neighborhoods are inhabited by Mexicans who for most part work in the bigger town 50 kilometers away, in the North Americans houses as maid or gardener, in the service sector within tourism or in the emerging mining industry in town. However, rising levels of tourist mobilities have also presented groups within the local Mexicans with new means to confront the powerful legacies of poverty and discrimination. Tourism has become an important economic activity and by doing a micro-sociologic study that focuses on practices in the community this chapter seeks to unpack sociocultural representations and historical experiences that are essential to understand the logics and rationalities of the different actors' participation that also involves mobilities that reach far beyond the scope and limits of the community. Also the case study engages with and challenges the binary interpretation of host - guest that has dominated much research within tourism and migration literature.

Fieldwork and data collection

The principal idea in this study is to address some of the paradoxes of community development where tourism activities are considered a pow-

erful economic strategy to generate economic growth, sustainability, equity and revenues for local business. Even though this article only focuses on one town in particular in the national tourism policy program Pueblos Mágicos it is representative for the towns in the program that have foreign groups (often North Americans or Europeans) as residents in the community. The empirical data presented and discussed in this article are based on various multisited ethnographic fieldwork stays in different Pueblos Mágicos towns during the last six years. Álamos has engaged in developing cultural tourism during the last decade and integrated into the national tourism program Pueblos Mágicos in 2005. In the town there is the local Mexicans, Mexican return migrants and a group of North American immigrants that either is categorized as second homeowners spending approximately six to eight months in the town or they live in Mexico all year. Even though most of them are retirees there has been a huge increase in North Americans in their thirties migrating to Mexico with their families (Croucher 2010; Clausen 2008; 2013) and the different towns in the Pueblos Mágicos program have experienced this increase.

The North Americans, Mexicans and local, regional and national politicians and other key informants were interviewed and followed in different contexts e.g. meetings or during their routines. That way it also became possible to follow images, objects and rumors as they circulate and create place myths. Materials, observations and small talk were collected from all the key informants. In addition, to better situate the practices of the key informants, I conducted semi-structured in depth interviews with local and regional politicians and the responsible persons in charge for the national tourism strategies, furthermore interviews were conducted with key persons in the North American group as well as among the local Mexicans. The interviews with the North Americans were conducted in English, and of course in Spanish when interviewing Spanish-speaking people. Also, interviews and small talks were realized with informants of different backgrounds – gender, age, livelihood activity, as well as their relationship to and familiarity with the Pueblos Mágicos project and the tourism initiatives in general. All data were triangulated (Spradley 1980). The analysis of the raw empirical data was greatly enhanced by embedding the practices of the informants within the broader political and sociocultural framework.

The community logics

The idea of community is challenged and a challenging concept. The transnational mobilities, high-speed technologies and easy access to communication constitute new ways and relations of proximity and distance. Here technology plays a crucial role in constructing and reshaping social relations beyond the traditional categories of place. Differences in understanding community are unavoidable. However a closer look into the term also designate both an idea of belonging and a particular social phenomenon, such as expressions of longing for community, the search for meaning and solidarity, and collective identities. Said in another way, community has a variable nature and cannot simply be equated with a geographic place or a specific group. In this chapter community is in a sense an expression of the search for something nostalgic and non-existent related to the past, yet I argue that community also is concerned with time understood as proximity and distance. The search for community is also an expression of very modern values and of a condition, which is central to the experience of life today. Community is about relationships, having something in common based in interests and attachment (Cohen 1985) which opens for the possibility to both encapsulate a specific world and having a shared understanding (Andersson 1983). These contexts of meaning - that are reconstructed – shape situations in which the participants create values. The shared common discourse which also defines social action and gives meaning to acts also provides the logics to shape a community. Furthermore, the diverse mobilities of peoples, objects, images, ideas and information and the complex interdependencies between, and social consequences of, diverse mobilities (Urry 2000; Hall 2003) and the transnational flows allow us to reframe the social relations in an more inclusive way to understand the tensions that exist in and between the practices, (im)mobile every day practices to comprehend how people make knowledge of the world. As a privileged context in which identity and knowledge create society the meaning of community becomes a decisive factor for local development (Barret et al. 2005). Then community identity gives it a collective form that is basic to understand the local development that tourism often forms part of. Thus it becomes important to access the global imaginaries for understanding community interconnectedness as they influence essentially

the development rationalities in the communities. These imaginaries as pointed out by e.g. Salazar (2012) play a significant role in the construction and perception of different parts of the world. Yet, community-based tourism scholars are still captured in the understanding of community as a stable, homogenous entity even though it is perceived a little more flexible than in earlier research studies (Moscardo 2011; 2014). Inspired by migration studies this chapter emphasizes the necessity to understand the transnational flows also form part of shaping the construction of the community's interconnectedness. The group of North American immigrants living in Álamos is not anything unique for this town, on the contrary the majority of the colonial towns integrated in the Pueblos Mágicos program has a group of foreign residents either from North America or Europe. They also form part of the civil society in the community, which makes it necessary to move beyond the national methodological approach to capture these transnational and translocal sociocultural practices.

Alternative development and participation

The turn of the new millennium marked a shift in the development paradigm and centres on alternative development and alleviating poverty, including tourism strategies as the main tool for generating growth. Sustainable community-based tourism has become a model for development and the establishment of new forms of tourism in which the economic benefits received by destination communities were of significant concern (e.g. Hall and Lew 1998; Mowforth and Munt 2008). The interest in more responsible and inclusive modes of tourism development and management has been accompanied by a commitment to comprehensive approaches to development and oriented towards the community and the goals of all stakeholders (Moscardo 2011; 2014). The current decade has seen further revisions towards the alternative development concept with increased attention being given to social entrepreneurship and equity in sustainable development which has lead to renewed interest in community and local participation as critical elements in achieving the goals (e.g. Scheyvens 2002; Weaver 2010). Yet, Hall (2003) argues that the relationship between tourism and community development is often

described in oversimplified and naïve romantic ways as if everyone in the community enjoy equal access to power, representation, benefits and are equally considered part of the community. Alternative development paradigm emphasizes that small-scale, locally owned and human development such as empowerment and the well-being of people should be a core element in development initiatives (Höckert 2011). In developing a sense of common good, such communities are seen as storied places of learning and dwelling, performed through narratives of participatory democracy (Jamal and Watt 2011; Clausen and Gyimóthy 2015). This has also raised questions about how to build enduring and viable partnerships, and collaborations between the different stakeholders, which will enhance the effectiveness, efficiency, harmony and equity of tourism development (Timothy 2002; Bramwell and Sharman 1999). Despite enormous support for community-based tourism as a tool for development and the achievements claimed by practitioners many studies suggest that achievements may be limited (e.g. Harrison 2008; Moscardo 2014). Nonetheless, several scholars claim that the problems encountered in the community-based tourism approach stem from the methods and techniques employed in its implementation (among others Mowforth & Munt 2009), which makes it interesting to pay closer attention to the participatory processes. Mikkelsen (2005) states that the challenge is to understand participation and how it shapes the development rationale "*…participation is one of the most important concepts in development cooperation because it is potentially a vehicle for different stakeholders to influence development strategies and interventions"* (Mikkelsen 2005: 53).

Local participation is believed to be able to create balanced economic opportunities for the local poor, increasing cultural tolerance and positive attitudes to tourism development, and facilitate the implementation of the principles of sustainable tourism (e.g. Tosun 2000; Saarinen 2010). Another essential aspect of community-based tourism initiatives is that a great deal of the problems stem from inequitable power relations between local communities and "outsiders" resulting in insufficient local community participation as emphasized by e.g. Harrison (2008) and Mowforth, Charlton and Munt (2008). Still, tourism strategies are often developed according to agendas that come from outside the tourism communities, furthermore communities are seldom organized to tackle

and control collectively the complex tourism market (Moscardo 2011). Even though the national government provide or supply some directions they often have their own agendas, which may be quite different from the communities where the tourism takes place and may conceivably conflict with local interests.

Newer research emphasizes sociocultural sustainability (understood as human values) as central to guarantee continuous development. Thus the locals achieve greater individual and collective self-esteem, freedom of choice, which generate local participation and empowerment (e.g. Mowforth & Munt 2008; Höckert 2011; Moscardo 2011). Yet, this "new" focus within alternative development does not explain nor unfold the community logics and still to some degree continues the tracks of keeping an Eurocentric framework as essential to community development as noted by Escobar (1997).

Place, mobilities and time

Within tourism development place as well as space have become essential for the local communities to exercise a degree of control over the effects of global tourism on their spaces and culture, it is as much about the symbolic and the representational as it is about the physical and the tangible (Stevenson 2003). Places are not discrete and powerless enactments; rather they are involved in the wider "power geometries" of the processes of globalization. These encounters are even more visible in tourism communities and may be corporal or virtual if not also imaginative. Thus places are not constructed out of nowhere but involve arrangements of materialities, people, artefacts, organisms, politics and imaginaries that form the social in interconnected and interrelated nexuses of practices and are *"…constituted by the way in which we interact with them – by experiences, meanings created in this interaction"* (Simonsen 2008:14). Place thus becomes a continuous construction and reconstruction and is considered relational.

In a critique of anthropology's use of time Hodges (2008) has argued that 'the multiplicity of differential times' should be taken seriously. The local politics of time is essential to understand the community logics. This chapter likewise challenges the idea of progressive time as the local Mex-

icans and the North American group inhabit and perceive the timescapes in their everyday scenarios very differently. These local politics of time represent and constitute one of the basic elements in the development rationalities at stake in the town and is expressed in a severe conflict about the market in the city center for instance or the urban development plan that suggests to construct a supermarket in the town. Furthermore, these differences in the local politics of time are intimately related to the global imaginaries about Mexico. The imaginaries are not synonymous with the unreal or utopia (Clausen, Gustafsson and Velázquez 2012) but rather assume that different imaginaries have real effects that need to be explored ethnographically. As such, the imaginaries are not detached from the present rather they are embedded in and are a way of relating to and enacting the future or the past. To include social territory in tourism will unfold the relations between the different groups that inhabit the community (Richard and Hall 2000), yet it is also essential to take the local politics of time into consideration to understand the different scales and dimensions of proximity and distance embedded in the logics of community.

The national Mexican tourism policy "Pueblos Mágicos"

As in several states in the Global South also Mexico considers tourism to be a powerful vehicle to generate economic growth, equity and alleviate poverty. For the Mexican economy, the development of rural tourism activities in small towns has provided a new way to join the international tourism market – an important feature of recent Mexican tourism development is that cultural tourism is no longer restricted to the mainly visual consumption of 'high culture' artifacts such as galleries, theatres and architecture, but has engaged in simply "to be soaked up by the atmosphere" of a place, heritage sites, tasting local food, and participating in local cultural events. In Mexico in addition to historical or heritage attractions, the Mexicans and their lifestyles are seen as a key component of the cultural tourism product. Hospitality, the easy-going way of life and the low costs are emphasized as part of the appeal of vacations in Mexico (Clausen 2008; Clausen and Velazquez 2011). This sector enables the export of services whose production and consumption take place locally,

particularly favoring participation from small and medium industries. Tourism is also characterized by its ability to attract private investment; in Mexico foreign investment between 2001- 2007 came to $37,153 million pesos (IADB 2006). In our case study the SIMBAD (municipal system databases) in the Institute of National Statistics (INEGI) shows economic growth: the number of accommodation facilities in Alamos has a continuous increase: 35 (2010), 19 (2005) and 12 (2000). Meanwhile, the number of establishments selling food (restaurants) presented only a slight increase: 17 (2010), 17 (2005) and 13 (2000). One of the biggest challenges facing tourism is to find a way to achieve a balance between touristic activities and the sociocultural and economic development of its local population, and achieving this balanced development without losing competitiveness.

In 2001 Mexico launched the national tourism program "Pueblos Mágicos" to promote cultural and heritage tourism in rural marginalized regions. This program highlights the "authentic Mexican culture". However it reflects the government's definition about what is desirable for the development of Mexico as a whole as well as in certain localities that meet the expectations for and fulfill the characteristic considered typical Mexican and then be integrated into the global tourism system (MacCannell 1973; Torres and Momsen 2005; Clausen 2012). As a new characteristic the planning process is to be anchored in local initiative, engagement and participation (SECTUR 2001) and based in the Agenda 21. According to Agenda 21, this type of tourism development should be socially and environmentally responsible, economically viable and directed to enrich culture and alleviate poverty, vulnerability and marginalization (Agenda 21). The Pueblos Mágicos program is clearly an ambitious public policy that has generated a series of tourist-related developments in rural towns, which is intimately related to the image and preservation of characteristics that the government considers defines its population as "typical Mexican."

The tourism activities processes involve at least three groups of social actors: the tourists, the locals (local population) and the tourism service providers that Miller and Auyong (1991) define as "runners" (brokers). In the case of Mexico, a fourth and important stakeholder in tourism is the government, which has been the main driver of the tourism activi-

ties in the country (Clancy 2001). Undoubtedly, these four groups have different views on tourism, depending on the costs and benefits that the activity provides for them. The various interests and imaginaries that the involved social actors have in tourism will have direct consequences not only for themselves, but also in the way in which this activity is planned and developed and how it affects each locality (Torres and Momsen 2005). In this respect, it can be said that tourist destinations are "socially constructed" by a series of representations and shared meanings provided by the actors involved in their design and operation, but also by those who oppose or simply live in the same locality (Clausen and Velázquez 2011).

Historical view of transnational mobilities in Álamos

Álamos has had several waves of migration during its history. At one time, the capital of the state of Sonora was located here, and the town was home to one of Mexico's most important silver mines as well as having one of the most famous mints in all of Spanish America. In the past, all of these things attracted a large number of people coming from different regions of Mexico and from other countries, too. However, with the closure of the mine and the mint, and the transfer of the state's seat of power to Hermosillo, to say nothing of the frequent pillaging that Álamos suffered during the Mexican Revolution, most of the people emigrated, leaving the previously flourishing city essentially abandoned. One of the first groups to move away was the owners of the large mansions in the city center. The houses were shuttered, and with that, the locality lost its early splendor, and it became nothing more than a footnote in Mexican history.

Two main migratory flows from North America to the Mexican town occurred during the twentieth century. A principal difference between the two was the interest that the second wave has shown for getting involved in the sociocultural life of town. The first group of immigrants can be characterized by their ownership of vacation homes in Álamos, and these individuals perceived the lack of nearness to, or even the isolation from, the town's residents as a positive thing. Whereas the second flow sought to strengthen a North American community that would fulfill certain dreams about the 'authentic' Mexico, but they also showed a keen interest in supporting development in the Mexican community itself

(Clausen 2008). This transnational migration wave starts in the 1970s and seems to increase. Most of the North Americans living in Álamos are working within tourism as hotel- or, restaurant owners, tour guides or owner of travel agencies. In addition they spend part of their time working on aid activities such as starting non-profit organizations to provide financial aid for instance to the neediest families or single mothers in town. However, the decision by the immigrant group to create charity organizations has to be placed within the cultural context of North America, where the formation of charity organizations is a cultural tradition, just as is volunteerism.[1] By saying this, I am only trying to point out that this is not a matter of an isolated effort by a particular group but rather it is part of an institutionalized practice. North American organizational customs have been deterritorialized and re-invented in Álamos which has an essential impact on the development rationale both for themselves and for the local Mexicans.

The national tourism policy "Pueblos Mágicos" in Álamos

Overall, there is substantial support and ethusiasm between the residents in the community when Álamos is integrated into the national tourism program Pueblos Mágicos as a typical Mexican colonial town and the nomination raised a lot of expectations due to the abundant flow of resources provided by the national government. However, the platform provided by the national tourism policy - by setting up a local committee in a participatory manner to develop agreements-, created yet another possibility to renew negotiations, conflicts and confirm existing as well as constructing new practices and social relations (Velázquez this volume 2014). The basic logic of a local committee emphasizes the importance of "the community" that seems to focus on community as homogenous and with uniform and rational economic decision-makers. Such an idealized understanding of the local dynamics obscures the micro-politics at the local level and the distinctions between the locals. Contrary as this case

1 *These organizations that we analyze are equivalent to the so-called Hometown Associations (HTAs), in the sense that their purpose is to develop or help a community. The key difference is that HTAs organized by Latin Americans have the objective of developing the community of origin, whereas in our case, the purpose is to develop the destination or receiving community.*

study shows the local dynamics do not happen in a vacuum, but rather are conditioned and affected by structural and historical relations, experiences and perceptions. It then becomes relevant to explore different social actors: 1) The local, regional and national government, 2) the local Mexicans (workers, elite), 3) the North American immigrant group that has been present in Álamos since the 1950s, and is mainly working within the tourism business either as hotel owners, festival responsible, or offering guide service, and 4) the tourists. These groups are all interested, belong and attached to Álamos in different ways and scales. Even though each group does not necessarily consider the other groups legitimate "locals" they all act as if they belong to the community (Clausen 2008). The set up of a local committee is percieved as an intent to have a bottom up approach even if it is an external tourism program, yet it will be locally implemented and constructed as a key element to generate growth and development in a rural town. The article analyses how the different representatives in the local committee negotiate and how the representatives redress and shape existing problems that are linked up to wider sociocultural and economic contexts in their responses to the local government and the national tourism program Pueblos Mágicos.

The local government in Álamos

In Mexico development is highly politicized and the local authorities that have to solve basic needs within their communities do not always have the same ideas, interest, and ideologies about development as transnational or foreign actors. At a municipal level, both political and social actors seek to benefit from the resources available. The national tourism policy Pueblos Mágicos is characterized by a participatory, bottom-up approach as it is obligatory for the nominated towns to organise a local committee consisting of local representatives. This local committee hands in proposals for tourism activities that are submited directly to the national committee. Thus, the idea is that the local committee also is in control and manage the ressources allocated to implement the tourism projects. Yet, when different groups get involved in the local committee it creates tensions, a situation that might be solved when the municipal authorities and local society representatives negotiate and institution-

alize participation that allow for more efficient municipal management.

The local government does not consider the presence of North American immigrants to be 'relevant,' even though this chapter will show that they exert a decisive influence on various policies as well as on development.[2] All though, in 2010 the local government recognizes officially the North American group as an important entrepreneur within tourism by including Mr. Alcorn – the first tourism entrepreneurial North American- in a regional historical archive of important historic persons. On one hand, this official recognition proves the group with legitimate membership of the community being recognized by the "Other" (the government). On the other hand, it also provides the group with renewed possibilities to negotiate their position in the town towards the state as well as towards the local Mexicans in their struggles over place. In the North American rationale of development tourists are potential income for the town as such and a main street towards the center with colonial style houses would correspond to the tourists imaginaries and are intimately linked up to their idea of time. This means that the town represent a time-frozen image of colonial Mexico. Whereas the local government development rationale is also about improving infrastructure in town. For instance the urban planning includes a major construction of a well-known supermarket chain in the entrance of the town. This causes frustrations in the North American group as it disturbs the colonial image of the town. Another severe conflict is the independent market that a local Mexican is organizing on the central plaza in front of his private home. The stalls are dirty, small and the indigenous sellers offer only plastic toys, candy and few hand made souvenirs. The local government does not have any intentions to prohibit the market because it is organized on private property. Taking a closer look on the government's development rationale it becomes necessary to frame it within a wider sociocultural, economic and political context. The government is obliged to fulfill basic

2 *This is not the only place in Mexico where this same category of immigrant is present. Groups of North Americans have established communities in various cities in states like Yucatán, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Sonora, and Sinaloa. An indirect indicator of this growing interest on the part of the North Americans for selecting Mexico as their residence is the sustained expansion of the North American real estate companies that operate in the United States but that specializes in or has a portfolio of properties located in Mexico.*

social needs of its population as a primary aim and has interest in constructing a modern town (the politics of time) where access to a huge supermarket is expected. On the other hand the government is also accused of monopolizing both decision-making and the funds meant for local development purposes as they dominate and control the revenues. When the local committee of Pueblos Mágicos program is founded in town, it then provides the local government with yet another platform to redress existing problems and negotiate with the different actors in town. One of the conditions in the local committee structure is that the mayor does not have a voice in the committee, however the list of proposals for future tourism activities is to be submitted to the federal committee through the mayor. However, the mayor changed the proposals into only one: the welcoming portal. Consequently, this becomes an issue full of controversies and diverging claims in town and contributes to confirm the perception of a corrupt local government with lack of social responsibility.

The North American immigrant group in Álamos

The group of North Americans consists of 372 persons, one third of them are families with kids that attend the local public school. A lot of the North Americans live in Álamos without residential documents or as undocumented persons:

> *"I'm not a resident here I'm a visitor I haven't had problems with the government … it's not a big problem [not having the papers]"* (Interview 10)

The perception of the Mexican government as a flexible institution and not as regulated compared to the US is considered a huge advantage by the North American group. However, this is dobble edged as the government also is perceived as corrupt and not fulfulling its social obligations solving the existing social problems in town. The North American group has founded non-profit organizations that provide financial support to single mothers and poor families in town - as in the United States- these organizations fill in the gap that should be taken care of by the local authorities. These transnational charity organizations are financed partly

by donations from tourists that are collected during the different tourist performances organized by the North Americans (for instance during the traditional indigenous ceremony of the "Dance of the Reindeer") partly by events organized within the North American group in the town. The success of these non-profit organizations have reached such a scale that the poor or needing families contact these transnational charity organizations in stead of applying at the local government. Consequently, the perception of the North American group is enhanced as efficient, organized and reliable (Clausen 2012). Even though the immigrants do not consider themselves as interfering in local politics:

> *[We the American community] never forget we are guests in their country and unless asked we should not try to tell them how to replant the plaza and offer to pay for it; or interfere in local politics".* (Interview 7)

The social representation of an inefficient local government becomes more visible and has political repercussions as these organizations force the state to engage with the North American group in new ways. The organizations become mechanisms to position the North American group in the economic and political arena as a parallel power structure. When North Americans participate in the local Pueblos Mágicos committee they have already prestige and knowlegde due to established social relations and experiences in the community. The local committee then is not just about cooperating around potential tourism activitites and initiatives but becomes yet another space to negotiate or redress these already existing power relations forging and maintaining certain social and political relationships beyond the tourism initiatives. All though this immigrant group does not form part of the official governance system, the local Mexicans refer to them as an important decision-making power and their role in economic and sociocultural differentiation is further underlined by the local perception that this group knows partly about tourism market logics partly how to benefit from it as they own most business related to tourism activities in town. However, the relationships between the local Mexicans and the North Americans are not only negative and abusive because with the right connections the Mexicans have access to jobs and ressources they

otherwise would not have (Clausen 2008). A essential part of their development rationalities is related to the global tourism imaginaries:

> *"Haven't you seen the houses at the entrance [to the Pueblo] … it looks absolutely horrible when you enter [the Pueblo] but we can't do anything even though we tried our best because it is a Mexican family and they don't have the same idea as we [the American community] do (…) all kinds of different houses … Just take a walk on the other side of the river then you will see a lot of confusing constructions (…) it doesn't give a very good impression in general …"* (Interview 1).

The idea of "authentic Mexican" refers to the different significant characteristics constituting the imaginary of Mexico perceived by foreigners as these representations (for instance the colonial houses, peaceful surroundings, the Mexican friendliness) are necessary prerequisites for maintaining tourism activities in the town which is the main income for the North Americans. This local politics of time is driven by an idea of a "authentic Mexico" mainly based on a time frozen nostalgic idea about Mexico and is also the reason for struggles over place. For instance the local government's urban plan includes allowing a major supermarket chain in the town. This of course apart from generating employment also provide access to cheaper and varied market merchandise. However, the North American group's principle concern is that this kind of constructions will definitely destroy not only the colonial peaceful environment and premodern image of the town but also how the North Americans wish to inhabit time in modernity in their every day scenarios. Thus, it forms an essential part of the different group's proximity to constitute a community and at the same time it contributes to the distance embedded in the construction and reconstruction of community.

The local Mexicans

This group comprises both of the elite and workers in town. The Mexican elite does not play a major role in the town's tourism activities as their business mainly is within the mining industry. Yet, they see the lo-

cal committee as an invitation or a possibility to reposition themselves towards not only the local government but also towards the North Americans and renegotiate for instance the project about the construction of the supermarket. They anticipated a process where the outcome was not yet set, and where their contributions as citizens would significantly affect decisions made also due to the new bottom up approach by constituting a local committee with local representatives. They participated in the meetings and filled in the templates for the national committee of Pueblos Mágicos. The local Mexicans expected that the committee's participatory approach would provide an opportunity to share their concerns about the North Americans' rejection of the urban development plan about the construction of the supermarket for instance. Apart from being a platform for the local Mexicans to renegotiate the existing relations it also reflects their politics of time and lived experience of time as one of a wide range of every day scenarios that they perceive as modern – for instance the access to a huge supermarket or their houses' materials being concrete that they consider modern, whereas the colonial style houses in the center are made of adobe which is related to being poor.

The Mexicans do not consider the North Americans as belonging to the community however; they do recognize their interests in and capacities to develop the tourism activities, to solve social problems and their efficiency.

> *"… it is obvious they [gringos] don't want to mix …they can't speak Spanish (…) they don't learn Spanish even though they say they would like to and take classes."* (Interview 9).

They do not claim that the North Americans are outsiders, in stead they emphasize that they have the right to participate if they regard the local Mexicans as conscious, active subjects that have a voice and capacity to use this voice instead of just being categorized as friendly and helpful.

> *"We love our Mexican hosts. We love them for their uniqueness, for their ability to cope, and we love their humanity. We try to accept and live with what we think are their foibles, just as they try to accept and live with what they are sure are ours. (…").*(Interview 21)

The local Mexicans in general neglect the North American immigrants as constituting an important part of the community in the sense of belonging. Rather the local Mexicans consider this group to be non-integrated immigrants that live and occupy for a period space and place in Álamos. Mainly due to the lack of interest of the North Americans to speak Spanish and participate in the local traditions as for instance the town's saint which is one of every Mexican town's most important annual traditions. In stead the North Americans invest resources in celebrating Mexican traditions that correspond to the global imaginaries as for instance "Day of the Dead" (Día de Muertos) that is celebrated mainly in central Mexico. Consequently, the North American group reinvented this tradition in Álamos seeking to establish some rituals around the celebration, organizing guided tours for the tourists to the cemetery while kids are decorating the graves with flowers.

Despite the political struggles related to the local politics of time embedded in place, the two groups (local Mexicans and North Americans) often collaborate against the Mexican local and regional government practices. On one hand, the obvious prioritization of the North American group due to their access to the tourism business, revitalize historical conflicts between the local Mexicans and the corrupt government. On the other hand, as the Mexicans keep lacking access to basis resources as water supply and sanitation, education, whereas the tourism businesses as hotels, restaurants etc. representing mostly the North American immigrants have twenty four hours with water access, good infrastructure etc. Contextualizing tourism into a greater political and sociocultural picture provides us with further insights into the struggles for place and space that constitute the local Mexicans development rationalities.

In my fieldwork in 2011 the tourist scene had not changed. The local independent market had not been removed from the central plaza nor had the alternative guided tour – both were still appropriating a physical space right next to the important central plaza. The owner of the colonial house in the plaza is one of the rich Mexican families in town. The family rent their terrace in front of the house with view to the plaza to the local market stalls however due to the Pueblos Mágicos guidelines the local government has asked the family to remove these market stalls but

the owner refuses. This has created tensions and conflicts that form part of understanding the community logics. Part of these negotiations are then also based on the social representations as shown in the above, government officials and other tourism stakeholders hold a perception that local Mexicans residents are ill-prepared for involvement in tourism decision-making. Although several mention that local Mexicans are "hospitable", "hardworking", "noble", "honest" and "respectful", there is also widespread perception among the government and the North Americans that they are uneducated, unqualified and unable to make informed decisions. In addition, perceived lack of education and/or technical competences also appears to contribute to the discriminatory practices exercised historically and more recently through the tourism industry as expressed by one of the Mexicans that work as a gardener in several North American residences and participate in the local committee:

> *"…They don't need to learn Spanish because we [the Mexicans] want to understand them [the North Americans"].* (Interview 9)

The (trans)local-local responses – proximity and distance

Cultural norms, existing forms of governance and the overall political realities as the (trans)local-local relations, in combinations with the different local groups' interests and ideologies thus contribute to shape responses to the Pueblos Mágicos program. As argued by Simonsen (2008) places are not constructed in a vacuum but are shaped and reconstructed by materialities, people, artefacts, politics and imaginaries which are further emphasized in the struggles in Álamos related to the local politics of time. The North Americans seek to create a time frozen image of Mexico based on ideologies and imaginaries constructed in the United States (Clausen 2008) and this nostagic and idyllic representation does not correspond with the local Mexicans' (both the workers and the elite) politics of time that is based on wishes to inhabit a modern Mexican town. Thus the local dynamics played out in the local committee then reflect two very distinct temporalities that seem imposible to tie together. It is then not only interests and resources that are at stake in the construction and understanding of community's interconnectedness but also time, yet, an-

other invisible but clearly defined boundary between the aparently homogenous entity of locals.

By taking a closer look on this colonial town the community has a variable nature and cannot simply be equated with a geographic place or a specific group. It becomes clear when the State intervenes by creating a bottom up locally based committee that the search for community is also an expression of relationships and having something in common based on interests and ideologies as shared projects. Yet, the mobilities of peoples, objects, images and ideas shape and even reframe social relations in a community where politics of time are embedded in the understanding of the community logics.

The idealized notion of community comes with an assumption of community as a uniform rational economic entity of decision-makers, which as such can enter into contracts of tourism projects. However, this case study shows that partly the power inequalities between the locals provide obstacles partly the politics of time make it difficult to constitute a homogenous community entity. Furthermore community borders are not static or defining a specific geographic place and need to be conceptualized as relational and networked communities with a high degree of diversity and complex identities. The Mexicans try to develop tourism activities linked to the preservation of local traditions as the town's saint. Whereas the North Americans perceive the locals without a proper understanding of Mexicans traditional values and time. The local becomes the same and continuous; whereas the North American residents opt for implementing cultural traditions and conserve what they consider traditional Mexican traits and values that correspond to the global imaginaries. A such the houses at the entrance to the village are not only different in construction to those located in the historic part of town where the North Americans live. The difference between these houses is not only explained by different aesthetic design, or construction expertise or budget, here the politics of time play a significant role in the development rationalities as the difference may lie in a different idea of history, where the use of certain materials: concrete, bricks, blocks, metal, are typical symbols and signs of progress and modernity as well as the supermarket, whereas constructions built with materials as adobe (sort of concentrated mud that is used by and related to indige-

nous and poor people) or traditional architectural styles are seen as signs of poverty or ignorance.

Final reflections

The capter has argued that the different actors are framed within these aforementioned sociocultural understandings and historical experiences within which community logics are constructed and reconstructed. The trend of implementing participatory processes through local committees to secure local engagement and generate sustainable development is a bumpy process and might not be the adequate process to create development in rural towns. This study suggests that the understanding of community logics needs to be framed within power and time relations embedded in and played out beyond the community and are rooted in and intertwined with both the global imaginaries and local sociocultural and political practices. These contexts of meaning shape situations as the example with the construction of a huge (modern) supermarket in which the participants create values. A shared common discourse which defines social action and gives meaning to actors, that create guidelines of thoughts and differentiated action that shape the community. In this case study the national tourism policy Pueblos Mágicos require a local committee with local representatives to create a bottom up approach to new tourism initiatives. However, the chapter has argued that the local committee and the local responses to development are not organized in a vacuum but are shaped and deeply rooted in wider sociocultural and political transnational mobilities. Thus, communities are not social fields a priori and operate within social constructions that construct and reinterpret societies, where ideas, relations and spaces are embedded. This chapter has argued that to understand community logics the same transnational social field may contain individuals with different interests and agendas, so the degree of unity and intentions must be assessed empirically (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2003). The different responses to tourism activities vary over time from attempts to negotiate to different resistance strategies. In this case the local committee seems to consolidate the unequal power relations and alliances between the national state and the local government as well as empower the local North American immigrants. The case study shows how a local committee is opening up arenas

where local entrepreneurs and individual participants become complicit in the construction of the community logics that differ fundamentally from the popular framing of community as stable and homogenous entity. This chapter has theoretical and policy-related implications for how we should understand the relations that constitute communities and in particular how to handle taken-for-grantedness and rationalities of State interventions with a global agenda.

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Community-Based Tourism development. An Evaluation of the National Tourism Policy Pueblos Mágicos

Introduction

This chapter examines the Mexican national tourism policy program *Pueblos Mágicos* and its effects on local community development. The aim is to show that this tourism policy only defines and operates through economic terms, which then presents mixed results. On one hand it creates positive indicators in local development, yet on the other hand it creates or preserves inequality and social exclusion. In other words, this chapter seeks to demonstrate that the current model of public policy used in the Pueblos Mágicos program is not sustainable; on the contrary, it generates negative effects on the sustainability scale, in the context of community development understood as something beyond economic exchange.

This study is inserted into the growing interest in analyzing the (negative or positive) impacts of tourism in the Global South and specifically in the areas where this activity occurs (Matthews 1983; Richard and Derek Hall 2000; Gill 2004). In the case of Latin America in the twentieth century, tourism was a relatively marginal source of revenue for the finances of the region, except for some countries in the Caribbean and Mexico.

This activity was focused on a few cities and beach areas. However, at the beginning of the new century tourism has become a central theme in Latin American societies, not only because of an increasing flow in cash income, but also due to the number of people employed and the number of tourists arriving to the region. Tourism then gained increased interest from the Latin American and international agencies (UNESCO, OECD) as a way to generate economic growth in areas where other productive projects have failed (Caraballo 2000).

As argued by Hall and Jenkins (2004) public policies play a central role in the development of tourism at the global, national and local level. At the local level there is a growing interest in knowing the degree of involvement of different stakeholders in the development, operation and results of a tourism policy (Harrison and Schipani 2007). The activities of tourism impact not only this specific sector, but the general operation of the town. In this sense, the analysis of community and tourism becomes a key issue to understand development (Richards and Hall 2000). Consequently, the focus in this chapter is on the consequences of this specific public policy for the construction and reconstruction of the local communities.

As a case study, I analyze the data available in the State and Municipal System's Databases (SIMBAD). There are 83 towns integrated in the Pueblos Mágicos program and I analyze the information available in the following categories: tourism infrastructure (number of lodging and food preparation), municipal revenues, public investment made in social development, alumni in higher education, and families and opportunities that provide benefits for the program. Each of these categories compares the data collected in the following years 2000, 2005 and 2012 to provide an average variable (positive or negative). This will allow for an extract of the average growth in, for example, the number of establishments for lodging during the last 10 years of the program's operation. Additionally, I use empirical material I have collected during several fieldwork stays in six different towns during the last four years.

I will introduce the analytical concepts that allow for a social (or sociological) evaluation and analysis of the public policies. The analysis is based on the general assumption that States have an interest in generating the necessary information not only for creating economic development, but

also for sustaining rules, forms of relationship and common cultural elements in order to reproduce communities and in the end society. In other words, community plays a central role for generating development. Furthermore, this chapter will provide some general information about the tourism program to contextualize the case study. Finally, the analysis and conclusion will be presented. It is noteworthy that the Pueblos Mágicos policy model to develop cultural tourism in small-scale communities has been applied in other countries in the region such as Colombia (Peoples Heritage Colombia), Guatemala (Maya Peoples) and Paraguay (Paraguay Peoples of Jesuit). In this sense, this chapter provides not only insights into its importance for furthering theoretical thoughts within public policies in Mexico but provides a framework to conduct further studies of policies in the Latin American region.

Community and tourism

In sociological terms, the concept of community was developed in studies of social order (Ross 1896). This line of research is concerned with answering the question: How is it that a group of individuals manage to live together? Communities were one model or ideal type of relationship between social groups that help remedy the two central sociological problems of social order: coordination and cooperation (Hechter and Horne 2003). The community was a model of functional social order, for instance in societies with high levels of coordination and cooperation; an idealization of "primitive" societies. Tönnies (1979[1887]) states for instance that within communities' individuals and groups perceive themselves as a whole; this is meant that each member understands his life in relation to the social whole or entity. Every persons work then becomes (mutual) dependent of each other, and they form or constitute a complementary whole.

Also, community is defined with respect to social practices that the members of a group perform together to create a sense of belonging, as well as the result of a set of mechanisms and processes that are aimed at socializing the members in order to generate mutual accountability (Abel 1995). Since the first studies of social order, one of the principal issues of discussion is the organizations that generate coordination and

cooperation. Marx (1994 [1845]) proposed to understand the state as a means to preserve social order thought by the ruling classes; whose operation allowed the continuation of capitalism. Whereas for Durkheim (1995 [1912]) religion is considered to be the key institution in order to construct and reconstruct the sense of community among different social groups. Subsequently, the interest for organizations that generate social order moved towards the mere processes and mechanisms that actually produced social order. In this regard it is noteworthy that the seminal work of Anderson (1993), who analyzed specific practices (maps, songs, history, flags, etc.) allowed States to construct or build, among a set of people and within a given territory, the feeling of or belonging to a non-existent community; an imagined community. His study focused on the mechanisms that reproduce communities and analyze new forms of belonging within members of a group that might not be anchored in a specific geographical space but in some cases scattered in different parts of the world.

For locations where tourism has become a major economic and socio-cultural activity, it is important to analyze how mechanisms of construction and re-construction of socialization and co-existence processes actually work and are implemented (Richards and Hall 2000). Firstly, communities and their cultural and social characteristics are one of the principal interests for tourists. Secondly, tourism activity can generate development between the agents directly involved in tourism. However, in the absence of compensatory mechanisms for the remaining members of the community this may be a major source of conflict (Bramwell and Sharman 2000). Thirdly, tourism requires a constant flow that can disrupt the norms and customs that holds a community. Additionally, the inclusion of any social territory within tourism means a challenge for the different groups that inhabit it; therefore also to the community (Richards and Hall 2000). Everyone has different views and interests in the development of tourism within a given territory, which is reflected in agreements, negotiations or disputes (Clausen 2014). Some of the crucial points that will influence the development of a tourism project in a community are: institutional culture (economic, political and cultural), resources of different groups (social, political and economic), organizations in a territory (Bramwell and Sharman 2000), planning (state and private or lack of it) in

the development of a tourist area (Kappert 2000; Hall and Jenkins 2004) and the presence of "spirit" (or culture) in business between agents related to the tourism industry (Koh 2000). The ability to generate agreements to boost the main needs of a town facing the tourism industry will be a determinant factor for the generation of a model of sustainable development in both social and ecological terms (Richards and Hall 2000; Bramwell and Sharman 2000). In other words, these mechanisms that allow the continuity of a community will be quite challenged.

State public policy and community

In tourist areas where the State intervenes, the identification of elements that are considered to construct, maintain or destruct community, is crucial. For this purpose, the State generates a series of legal tools and public, symbolic and discursive policies that produce and reproduce communities. In this specific case the article will focus on four of them (Anderson 1993; Abel 1995): 1) the distinction between community members and external members. The State legally defines who is a citizen (for instance member of this community) and who is not, and the rights and obligations of each of the groups' members within its territory. The State's definition of the members of a national community has implications for the cultural practices (e.g. language(s), religions allowed, permitted substances for consumption), political practices (e.g. political organizations, participation in representative positions, voting) and economic practices (rights to property acquisition, business where participation is permitted). In this case tourism public policies definitions are those used to decide who can buy properties, develop projects and receive support. The definition of these agents representing the State that are involved in tourism will be critical in small-scale communities as showed in several studies whenever new groups of residents (foreign or other national populations) seek to participate in this activity (Clausen 2012); 2). The type of activities (tourism) permitted by the State in a given area will generate agreements or conflicts between members of a community. In relation to this it is important to remember that permissibility or prohibition is not absolute, but a continuum where the boundaries are constantly re-negotiated. The tourism areas are a clear exam-

ple of this, as often in these places the behavior of the tourists should provide sanctions yet it is tolerated. The State and social partners will define what kind of activities are permitted and to whom; 3) to create the conditions for the reproduction of the community. This applies at first hand to the infrastructure or as the number of "basic" services that are fulfilled (access to water, sewer, electricity), health (medical services, garbage collection) services, recreation (public parks, shows). Secondly, the State requires an insurance of all necessary resources for the continuity of everyday life within the group. For the tourist areas this means not only the construction and maintenance of urban infrastructure, but also compensatory mechanisms that exist for groups who are excluded from direct benefits related to tourism. Otherwise, they will reproduce and/or increase the socio-cultural and economic differences that might generate social conflicts; 4) the conditions for constructing community. The State allows and encourages public participation in public affairs, and for making civil society organizations work. This is essential to tourism, where economic agents involved in the activity can be oblivious to the community in relation to their ties to, and common interests of, the community. To generate active participation among the population it is necessary to define the characteristics of tourism development in a given locality as one of the means that could provide or generate a balanced and shared development.

Pueblos Mágicos program

The Pueblos Mágicos program is a federal policy that began operating in 2001, with the addition of 30 locations across the country. In that first year the government invested 4 950,000 pesos, by 2007 this increased to 90 millons, 271.182 and for 2012 was 162, 818.547. The total federal investment throughout the period of operation of this program (2001-2012) is 1, 138, 988.118 pesos (Tourism Ministry 2012c). For 2011 there were already 48 incorporated locations to the program and by the end of 2012 the number increased to 83. In 2011 the total beneficiary population was 880,000. The financial resources of the program are used in the preservation of historical and architectural heritage in the towns, improving the urban image, and the creation of services related to tourism

e.g. restoring hotels (Tourism Ministry 2010). According to the OECD this is one of the most successful tourism programs, because it has succeeded in boosting the growth of communities and rural towns, besides generating the conservation of natural landscapes and local cultural traditions (OECD 2012).

In the National Development Plan 2007-2012 the overall goal for the national tourism sector was as follows: "To make Mexico a leader in tourism by diversifying its markets, products and destinations as well as fostering the competitiveness of companies in the sector so that provide a service of international quality "(Ministry of Tourism 2007: 16). During the administration of Felipe Calderón (2006- 2012), there had been a public investment of $ 327 million and 16,000 private investment for $ 222 million in this sector (Lopéz and Gonzalez 2012).

The Pueblos Mágicos program is a federal strategy to seek to consolidate the diversification of Mexican tourism, as this was concentrated in specific regions and cities. The federal government (Vicente Fox 2000- 2012) found that in different parts of Mexico there was potential to generate tourist centers in order to broaden the traditional definition of tourism in Mexico as "sun and sand" and give greater weight to the emergent interest in cultural tourism. The Pueblos Mágicos program was designed to promote culture and independently boost each region in Mexico, seeking to create attention to cities that have historical and architectural heritage. In some cases this program will be a complement to the tourist destinations of beach and sun, and in other cases, the main attraction of middle and small cities would be to look for how to generate tourism in their localities (Tourism Ministry Fifth Report of Work 2010). The requirements to enter the program are that the candidate locations beforehand are located near major tourist centers; have destination support within no more than two hours away (200 km); tourism is considered a priority in the municipal planning; and the existence (or commitment) to have a tourist town plan. They also need to fulfill the Agenda 21 and have a population of 20,000 inhabitants (Tourism Ministry Fifth Report of Work 2010; Velarde et al 2009). Local participation and institutional collaboration (14 federal agencies signed the cooperation agreement) are considered fundamental characteristics for a successful realization of the program.

The Pueblos Mágicos program attempts to increase the development of cultural tourism in Mexico. Since the inception of the program, the federal government has devoted an increasing amount of resources. The initial federal investment in the program was 6.6 million pesos. In the period 2001-2008 the total investment of the federation, states and municipalities got to add resources to 557.7 million, bringing total investment to $ 500 million pesos for 2012.

The use of culture as part of the scenario required for tourism experiences is a significant feature of current tourism; ancestry and identity become objects of sale and consumption. This has not been without disputes and conflicts by groups opposed to the use of cultural or historical issues (MacCannell 2004; Hiernaux 1989). However, the construction of these scenarios is not uniform; there are different groups with positions and interests, which may conflict with the vision of local people, which can lead to clashes (Clausen and Velázquez 2012).

To be selected as a location in the Pueblos Mágicos program it is required that the town has a distinct interest, an understanding of why the town's architecture and historic buildings, festivals, traditions, handicrafts, and traditional cuisines are within the "collective imagination of the nation" (Pueblos Mágicos 2012). In the program description it states: "The Pueblos Mágicos program [...] helps to revalue a set of places in the country that have always been in the collective imagination of the nation as a whole" (Pueblos Mágicos 2012). As said, these could be physical objects (buildings, urban areas, parks) but also festivals, cuisines or historical sites. Overall, the focus of the program is to provide resources for public works that are strategic for the development of tourism in each locality.

The objectives of the program Pueblos Mágicos are: 1) Structuring complementary tourism and diversified historical attributes into the country based on culture; 2) Take advantage of the uniqueness of the locations to generate tourism products on the different expressions of local culture; crafts, festivals, cuisine and traditions, amongst others; 3) Take advantage of the uniqueness of the locations to generate other tourism products such as adventure and extreme sports, ecotourism, fishing and others; 4) Encourage tourism flows generated by: a) increased spending to benefit the host community (crafts, food, amenities and commerce in

general); b) the creation and / or modernization of local tourism businesses; 5) That local tourism constitutes a tool for sustainable development of localities incorporated into the program as well as a support program for municipal management; 6) That the receiving participating community locations gain advantage and benefit from tourism as a profitable business option, activity, work or lifestyle.

The Pueblos Mágicos program as a political community builder

As we can see the Pueblos Mágicos program is, overall, a public policy that seeks to generate tourism development in the small and medium towns of Mexico. Here we pursue an evaluation in sociological terms of the results produced in the present and future of the Pueblos Mágicos program. The results presented are important as general information on the implementation of policy, but given the diversity among the types of stocks listed (in terms populations, but also on their level of development and specialization in tourism) the results need to be considered with this precaution. When evaluating only (statistical data for the years 2000, 2005 and 2010) the Pueblos Mágicos program in terms of its effectiveness to develop elements to achieve its main stated objective, achieving growth of tourism activities in small and medium localities, the result is positive. Considering all populations in two categories related to the construction of tourist infrastructure (number of establishment for lodging and food preparation) we can see, in both cases, an increase: 81 towns participating in this program have an average growth of 148.7% in the number of facilities for accommodation. Meanwhile there is an average growth of 56.26% in this type of tourism infrastructure in 77 populations. As data is available on SIMBAD to 2010, the same calculation is to be redone considering only populations that were considered in the program until 2010 (between 2011 and 2012 45 locations were incorporated into the Pueblos Mágicos program). In this case, the average increase in the number of lodging establishment rises to 167, which is 40% among the 38 who participated in this program for the year 2010 or earlier. It should be mentioned that there are 10 cases where populations showed no growth in the number of facilities for accommodation, but only two were built

before 2010[1]. In the number of establishments for food preparation 35 populations belonging to the program, the average percentage increase is 65.63%. Among these, 11 have not submitted any percentage growth: Seats (2006, Aguascalientes), Cuatro Cienegas (2012 Coahuila), Viesca (2012 Coahuila), Bocoyna (2007 Chihuahua), Cuitzeo (2006, Michoacán), Tlalpujahua (2005 Michoacán), Tzintzuntzan (2012 Michoacán), Pahuatlán (2012 Puebla), Tlatlauquitepec (2012 Puebla), Xicotepec (2012 Puebla), Izamal (2002 Yucatán).

The goal of the Pueblos Mágicos program in terms of developing a new tourism niche in small and medium cities in Mexico is to generate growth in these locations. One way of perceiving growth is in revenue from government, in this municipal case. In this regard 81 towns belonging to the Pueblos Mágicos program presented an average growth of 234.25% in its municipal gross income. Among the 38 who participated in the Pueblos Mágicos program between 2001 and 2010 the average increase in revenue is almost the same, 235.58 percent. The least significant increases in the state budget presented in the following locations: Cuitzeo 56.61% (2006, Michoacán), Jiquilpan 57.23% (2012, Michoacán), Tlayacapan 63.60% (2011, Morelos), Bocyona 86.71% (2007 Chuhuahua) Mier 84.19% (2007, Tamaulipas), Mazamitla 92.45% (2005, Jalisco) Magdalena 93.50% (2012, Sonora). In the remaining 31, the average increase was over 100% in the budget.

Distinction between community members and external members

The growth in the number of tourism-related (in this case hotels and restaurants) establishments means increased specialization and importance of tourism as an economic activity between the towns involved, not only by the growth in business related but also jobs. This is generating a readjustment in the relations of economic and political agents in communities. Organizations and political actors related to agriculture, livestock and / or social organizations such as those in the suburbs that have shifted in weight in decision-making are given priority analyzed to the politi-

1 *This is the case for: Asientos (2006, Aguascalientes), Calvillo (2012, Aguascalientes), Viesca (2012, Campeche), San Luis de la Paz (2012, Guanajuato), Cuitzeo (2006, Michoacán), Jiquilpan (2012, Michoacán), Chignahuapan (2012, Puebla), Pahuatlán (2012, Puebla), Tula (2012, Tamaulipas) and Sombrerete (2012, Zacatecas).*

cal demand for municipal development programs. Similarly, decisions of the local body (Committee of Pueblos Mágicos) responsible for deciding on expenditure of the program are reserved solely for the agents involved directly to this activity. This efficiency in the Pueblos Mágicos program to increase tourism generates economic specialization and decision-making which leads to a new form of division among members of local communities; those involved in tourism and those detached.

Furthermore, in some of the communities participating in the Pueblos Mágicos program and where there is already a local specialization in tourism activities, (San Cristobal de las Casas, Poplars, Tepoztlan, Loreto, Taxco de Alarcón, Valle de Bravo, Izamal between others) there is a migration from both Mexican and foreign cities. Some of these people have not only decided to make the town their new residences but become actively involved in tourism activities as owners of hotels or restaurants, for those that have financial resources (Clausen 2008; Clausen and Velázquez 2010b). The Pueblos Mágicos program does not envisage financial mechanisms or public policies that protect or encourage the generation or preservation of tourism businesses. However, in many cases, members of these new groups do not seek their integration into the local community but maintain ties with their home or among the other members of their own sub-group (Clausen and Velázquez 2010a). In other words, forms of integration of these groups of migrants to tourism within the program are not producing their integration into the community, but economic, social and cultural enclaves different from the rest of the population.

Negotiating limits

As we have seen in municipalities where the Pueblos Mágicos program is presented, a significant increase in municipal finance is applied. This explains that until 2012 there was a list of 60 municipalities expressed interest to the federal government for consideration in the program (Cortes 2012). However this growth in tourism has not been accompanied in most cases by the construction of a set of laws and municipal authorities regulating tourism. The limits for the regulation of tourism are still occurring even regarding compliance with the technical requirements that the program provides.

With regard to the regulation of tourist activity, an example of limits is hotels. Hotels work in locations not subject to regulations establishing the relationship between quality and quantity of services; classifying this is usually done in an ordinal scale (number of stars). Thus, in the analyzed populations great arbitrariness is present (even in cases where this type of classification is displayed) between different hotels, quality and cost of the room. Additionally, it is common for parties or events that attract more tourists to these locations to operate improvised accommodations (rooms in private homes, guest houses, etc.). This activity is openly advertised and yet there is no attempt to regulate.

In relation to the technical criteria defined by the program that localities may belong to the program, these constitute a limit subject to negotiation or a future aspiration. One case is street vendors. Although the disappearance of this activity on public roads is a requirement for a locality, in most of the localities where these businesses are, they have not been regulated by municipal authorities, yet that is not reason for exclusion from the program. The lack of regulation in the operation of hotels and the technical criteria of the program cannot be defined solely as a malfunction of public bureaucracies. They are negotiating tools for both the municipal authority and to the federal.

The creation of conditions for reproducing the community

As said earlier, states require generating a series of basic services for a community to continue to exist. Not only, state policies have required compensatory mechanisms to address those social groups who are in unequal conditions. By analyzing three state mechanisms that seek precisely to balance the conditions of development of individuals (Funds allocated for social development, alumni in basic education and higher average schooled and families benefitted by Oportunidades model), a significant growth in the public investment in stocks involved in the program is uncovered. In relation to public investment exercised for social development, it was only possible to obtain information from 36 locations within the Pueblos Mágicos program. In these areas an average growth of 1456.87% in the category was presented. However, it should be mentioned that there are cases that present a growth "typical" against the

rest: Tepotzlán 21435.81% (2002, State of Mexico) and Tula 12335.19% (2011 Tamaulipas). By eliminating these two cases the average in the 34 localities continued to be high 549.3%. On the other hand, there are 12 cases with a negative average growth in public investment exercised for social development[2]. On average the 4 villages of Queretaro had an average decrease of -69.23% in public investment made for social development, while in the 5 Pueblos Mágicos of Zacatecas (Jerez, Nochistlán, Pinos, Bonnet and Teúl Gonzalez Ortega) the average -17% decreased investment. Moreover, using data from 70 populations participating in the Pueblos Mágicos program for the year 2012, an increase of student graduates in the basic higher average 27.73% school modality of education was presented. Needless to say, cases where there was a notable growth were not considered for the above average as they were considered too far removed from the rest of the data presented. As regards the programs belonging to the program in 2010 or before, 201 recorded an average of 245.66% growth. 18 populations were also recorded to decline[3].

Finally regarding the number of families that benefited by the program Oportunidades, with data from 75 populations that participate in the program, an average growth of 253.2% was recorded. For those localities that were included in the 2010 or before, the average is 336.92%. Nevertheless, 7 cases with negative results were presented[4].

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2 *These are: Todos Santos –municipio de La Paz-, -24.57% (2006, Baja California Sur), Chiapa de Corzo -15.29% (2012, Chiapas), Mineral del Monte -39.32%, (2004, Hidalgo), Cadereyta de Montes -39.49% (2011, Querétaro), Ezequiel Montes -71.52% (2005, Querétaro), Jalpan de Serra -73.27% (2010, Querétaro), Tequisquiapan -92.69% (2012, Querétaro), Tacotalpan -97.93% (2010, Tabasco), Jerez -39.01% (2007, Zacatecas), Nochistlán de Mejía -26.17% (2012, Zacatecas), Pinos -16.24% (2012, Zacatecas), y Teúl de González Ortega -31.51% (2011, Zacatecas).*

3 *These are: Chignahuapan -98.12% (2012, Puebla), Teúl de González Ortega -42.54% (2011, Zacatecas) Cuetzalan del Progreso -39.00% (2002, Puebla), Tzintzuntzan -23.50% (2012, Michoacán), Angangueo -15.21% (2012, Michoacán), Mineral del Monte -9.63% (2004, Hidalgo), San Sebastián del Monte -7.51% (2011, Jalisco), Jiquilpan -4.20% (2012, Michoacán), Comala -3.84% (2002, Colima), Tlatlauquitepec -2.99% (2012), Xicotepec (2012, Puebla), Catorce -1.30% (2001, San Luis Potosí).*

4 *These are: Dolores Hidalgo -68.35% (2012, Guanajuato); Salvatierra -54.08% (2012, Guanajuato); San Luis de la Paz -61.15% (2012, Guanajuato), Yuriria -75.46% (2012, Guanajuato), Capulálpam de Méndez -27.16% (2007, Oaxaca), Cadereyta de Montes -48.04 (2011, Querétaro), Teúl de González Ortega -27.79% (2011, Zacatecas).*

Conditions for community construction

In the case under consideration, community building occurred first in a set direction, through their participation in public affairs, particularly during the decision making of tourism policy. This is essential if it is to secure the sustainability (in economic terms but also social and cultural) of these projects (Bramwell and Sharman 2000). For the Pueblos Mágicos program running in each locality a committee independent from the municipality, comprising members of tourism related businesses and local civilian community sought to achieve this goal. However Pueblos Mágicos Committees presented together many differences in their modes of operation. These differences are not only the regularity of meetings (some committees meet twice a year while others do each month), but there are notable differences in one of its main activities: proposing projects to improve tourism in each locality. In the operation of these utilities in the Pueblos Mágicos program, one or more of the following problems occur: 1) the committee members have little experience in submitting projects; 2) tourism projects decisions are taken by a person or interest group that dominates within the committee; 3) internal conflicts in the Committee decrease the body's ability to present projects; 4) there is a conflict of interest between the Pueblos Mágicos committee and the municipal authorities so that projects are not carried out or only partially; 5) there are economic groups, civil society or other that conflict with the Committee for decisions; 6) there is little or no public information to the rest of the community about the Committee's composition, functions and results of the Pueblos Mágicos program. This creates suspicions, disinterest or conflicts to the program and the Committee.

On the other hand, the Pueblos Mágicos program is based primarily to exploit the particular cultural characteristics of each population. The festivities, buildings, food and customs are some of the main attractions offered. However the analyzed policy does not include any compensatory mechanisms that allow the reproduction of these goods offered, except for expenditure on repair of facades. This is one of the main weaknesses of the program. For example, groups engaged in celebrating holidays, celebrations and parties that are attractive to tourists do not receive any support or compensation. This creates a latent or open conflict because they are aware of the use made of their work without receiving any ben-

efits. This conflicting situation worsens if we remember that there are several operators of tourism businesses that are not original members of the population, so that they do not belong, or practice no mechanism for redistribution or compensation of its profits to the community.

In this respect a notable exception are the organizations of civil society created by members of communities of foreigners living in some of the places involved in Pueblos Mágicos. These groups are formed with an explicit interest to establish compensatory mechanisms between the resources available to the new group and much of the original population of the towns (Clausen 2008). These civil organizations are dedicated to the protection of groups at risk (single mothers, underprivileged children, etc.) but also the support of cooperatives for the production and sale of local products (crafts, food, etc.) and to support cultural expressions (musical groups, regional dances, etc.).

Conclusions

The Pueblos Mágicos program has been one of the most important public policies of the Mexican federal government to generate new sources and consolidate resorts in the past two decades. In a descriptive analysis of statistical data we can see that the towns involved in this program have achieved significant improvements in tourism infrastructure (number of establishment for lodging and food preparation), municipal revenues, public investment made in social development, alumni in basic higher average schooled and families benefited by the Oportunidades education model. These results certainly would have to generate a positive assessment in general terms about the operation of this public policy. However when we include in the evaluation theme of the community, more specifically, the operation of state mechanisms for the building (or not) of the community, the result is different, or at least presents a contrasting picture.

The Pueblos Mágicos program, regarding the distinction between community members and the external, is generating or deepening divisions within the community, to form a new group with different abilities and other status (the agents involved in the tourist services). The program has no mechanism to support local entrepreneurs, thus competing

in an unequal position with external agents migrating to the community with more resources. In this sense, the state has failed in its function to generate a distinction between community members and others.

In negotiating the limits the State has been unable to set limits to economic agents that continue to operate with a large degree of discretion on the type of services that are present in each locality. Municipalities do not have the regulations, staff or budget for proper regulation of tourism activity that is propelling in their localities, which undoubtedly constitutes a serious threat to the functioning of communities in the medium and long-term. As noted earlier, although this is not an outcome directly attributable to the Pueblos Mágicos program, in the localities where it is applied there is significant growth in investment exercised for social development, alumni elementary and middle school and upper school modality and Opportunities families covered by the program. This data definitely show a consistent state policy for trying to improve the situation and create conditions for the reconstruction of the community.

Finally regarding the conditions for a community to construct programs it requires to create mechanisms to empower, provide autonomy and resources to Pueblos Mágicos Committees (the local committee) so that they are shaped within the framework of institutionalized citizen participation. The recurring problems posed by such Committees are converted into new forms of conflict or creating local elites. Moreover, the Pueblos Mágicos program requires generating compensatory mechanisms related to the local population that do not directly benefit from tourism, especially with regard to those that are involved in cultural, artistic or religious activities that are presented as tourist products. If there is failure to produce these compensatory mechanisms, the state will generate a growing animosity in relation to tourism, which undoubtedly will affect the sustainability of this activity in the long-term perspective.

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Encounters in Volunteer Tourism – A Case Study from Zambia

Introduction

Over the past half century, tourism has evolved into one of the world's most powerful socio-economic forces, with over one billion international tourists in 2013 and an expected 1.8 billion by 2030 (Telfer and Sharpley 2008; UNWTO 2014). High growth rate in international tourism is closely related to increasing globalisation, which has reduced the cost and time required to move commodities, services and people, and to increasing consumption by individuals in industrial, capitalist societies (Hall 2008, 36-49). Tourism is increasingly promoted as a development strategy that is expected to create economic growth and employment, as well as to reduce poverty (Jänis 2011; Saarinen 2009), however, this nexus is freight with the so-called 'tourism–development dilemma' (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). The dilemma illustrates that the potentials of tourism as a means of stimulating social and economic development often fails to materialise or its benefits are unequally distributed, entailing significant costs to local communities. Gössling, Hall and Scott (2009, 113) remark that the benefits of tourism to society are highly complex and not self-evident. The core of the tourism–development dilemma is the problematization of how tourism can contribute to most acute development issues at a local level. In the last three decades this has resulted in different forms of 'alternative tourism' such as ecotourism, community-based tourism and

volunteer tourism (Smith and Eadington 1992; Timothy 2002; Lyons and Wearing 2008).

Volunteer tourism, in particular, has steadily grown in the past decades following an increasing demand of especially young adults to search for their individual identity through volunteer experiences (Sin 2009; Butcher and Smith 2010, Wearing and McGehee 2013). Simultaneously, volunteering overseas has witnessed a growing amount of commercial tourism operators replacing and supplementing the previously NGO operated sector (Tomazos and Butler 2009, 209; Wearing et al. 2010,189). The factors influencing the possibilities for volunteer tourism to rise as an option for people to spend their holiday, particularly in Western societies, are the economic boom, the rise of social security, and the reduction in working hours, giving people the opportunity to seek self-fulfilment and success in their spare time as well as at work (Mowforth and Munt 2003 82-86; Tomazos and Butler 2009, 199). Thus, changes in volunteerism reflect the changes in the overall society. Volunteer tourism tries to answer to the demand of a modern tourist; doing 'meaningful work' in different environments and deeper immersion with local people when working side by side with them on conservation, humanitarian or community projects (Richter and Norman 2010, 223; Spencer 2010, 4).

The most commonly used definition of volunteer tourism (also known as voluntourism) is that of Wearing (2001,1): "Volunteer tourists are those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society". It is this expected making of a difference by tourists in the host society that makes volunteer tourism an interesting and simultaneously a highly controversial topic which has been widely studied from different disciplinary fields, such as tourism studies, development studies and anthropology. In fact, volunteer tourism is perceived as a more responsible form of tourism, which is more closely linked to altruistic and benign volunteer work than to exploitative forms of mass tourism (Raymond and Hall 2008). However, volunteer tourists' motivation is often similar to other tourists', in the sense that they too want to primarily explore new and exotic places and cultures far away from home (Sin 2009).

It is relatively well studied how volunteerism affects the values and world views of the volunteering individuals, and what kind of motivations volunteers have when engaging in volunteer activities abroad as well as the market and scope of volunteerism (see for example, Anderson and Shaw 1999; Dekker and Halman 2003; Guttentag 2009; Ooie and Laing 2010; Sin 2010; Wearing 2001). However, how this constant stream of volunteers is seen from the viewpoint of receiving communities and institutions is a less studied subject (Guttentag 2012). This chapter intends to bring forth the experiences of recipients as well as those of the volunteers. The chapter studies how volunteering is perceived by local staff at a Zambian Children's home, by observing and studying the inner dynamics of encounters between regular Zambian staff and foreign volunteers (Timonen 2012).

The fieldwork was conducted for eight weeks in 2011 in a Zambian Children's home that was receiving volunteers on a regular basis. The Children's home has several locations, but the fieldwork material is mostly based on material collected from the main centre, giving home to over 30 orphaned or abandoned children, from new-born to up to two years old. During the fieldwork period, six volunteers and some short-time visitors were contributing to the activities of the centre. The data consists of transcribed individual interviews with employees and volunteers as well as participant observations of interaction situations. A total of six volunteers from Canada, USA the UK and New Zealand and 13 representatives of the host organization were interviewed, some of them twice. The Zambian interviewees consisted of caregivers, nurses, teachers, social welfare representatives and a manager of the organisation. In addition to these staff members, the Children's' home, which consists of three different placements, has administrative personnel, guards, a driver and cleaning and kitchen staff.

This chapter gives special attention to interface situations where different worlds of developed and developing world encounter. Pioneers in development anthropology and development encounters, J.P. Olivier de Sardan (2005) and Norman Long (e.g. 1989) view development as a process where everyday interactions become essential. According to this view, we should try to understand society 'from below', which in turn needs documenting everyday 'micro situations' (Long 1989, 228). A

central theoretical concept in Long's interface analysis is *social interface* which is defined by Long (2001, 1) as "a critical point of intersection between different life worlds, social fields or levels of social organization, where social discontinuities based upon discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power, are most likely to be located". According to Long, *social interface* helps to illustrate disruptions which are characteristic to social life in general, but even more so in situations where actors have different worldviews or cultural paradigms (Long 1989, 221; Long 2001, 243). This concept was used as an aiding tool to analyse the encounters of volunteers and locals in a Zambian Children's home.

The study is based on ethnographically inspired participant observation where the researcher (Timonen) was also one of the volunteers, therefore closely involved in the everyday practices of the Children's home. The dual role of being both a volunteer and a researcher directs the focus on the negotiations and social struggles between different social actors in this case study. This enabled to analyse development as micro-level phenomenon, from which three major themes emerged. These are: 1) the freedom of volunteers, 2) issues of social and organizational hierarchy and 3) the specific character of interaction between volunteers and children. Before elaborating on these themes, the chapter discusses the plural notion of community, acknowledging that volunteers, host organisations and other groups form different kinds of communities. While traditional volunteering has essentially been about people's local community and local participation, voluntourism brings in external and mobile agents into local settings. Since studies have found a connection between community identification and active citizenship (see for example, Sturmer and Kampmeir, 2003), a question arises what is the meaning of identification in volunteer tourism where volunteer workers and contributions increasingly come from the outside.

Host and volunteer communities

Previous research has noted possible positive impacts of volunteer tourism on local communities in host destinations. Wearing (2001,12), for example, advocates volunteer tourism "as a development strategy leading to sustainable development and centering the convergence of natural

resource qualities, locals and the visitors that all benefit from tourism activity". Other assumed benefits include the empowerment of locals in host communities, developing cultural interaction and understanding between hosts and tourists, as well as building a more intimate form of contact in the longer period (see for example Coghlan and Gooch 2011, 714; Sin 2010, 983). Zahra and McGehee (2013) demonstrate that volunteer tourism may even foster different forms of community capital in the host community, ranging from social and personal to financial and built capital.

On the other hand, relationships developed between hosts and visitors are often far from equal (Sin 2010, 984). As Wearing and McGehee (2013, 124) point out, the hosts face different kinds of barriers from culture to language, to fully participate in volunteer tourism and they often do not have an awareness of the scope and breadth of volunteer activities within their communities. Volunteer tourism is argued to re-produce existing structures and power hierarchies that keep the volunteer tourist in a privileged position while continuing to undermine the locals in host communities (ibid.). A growing body of literature questions the positive impacts of volunteer tourism on host communities and raises concern for the contradictions and inefficacy of the phenomenon (Guttentag 2009; Sin 2009). Many claim that young Western volunteers in the developing countries have little knowledge or experience and lack of skills, capacity and time to get involved with the locals (Palacios 2010, 863). Furthermore, Ingram (2010, 219) purports that volunteer tourism reduces development to an act of 'doing' and objectifies host communities in developing countries as 'the benefit-receiving other', thus perpetuating colonial attitudes.

Previous volunteer research has focused much on individual volunteers and their motivations. However, according to Hustinx et al. (2010, 425), these aspects of an individual should be situated within broader socio-cultural and structural environment. Volunteer activities are not only based on individuals' values and worldviews, although they play an important role in decisions to volunteer, but they are integrated in interpersonal relationships with other volunteers and paid staff as well as in certain organisational settings and broader societal dynamics (Hustinx et al. 2010, 425). Thus, volunteering is frequently a group activity and being

part of a volunteer community does have important effects on the volunteer experience (Simon et al. 2000 in Hustinx et al. 2010, 425). On the other hand, volunteers form a highly heterogeneous community, whose expectations, abilities as well as physical and emotional skills may differ considerably (Andereck et al. 2012; Grimm and Needham 2012). It is also important to study whether volunteers perceive themselves as not only part of the volunteer community, but also part of the organisation and the work community where they are working as volunteers. These issues lead us to the next topic.

Encounters in the Zambian Children's home

The Freedom

In previous research, volunteer tourism has been described as having both elements of work and leisure (see for example Barbieri et al. 2012; Tomazos and Butler 2011). Some existing research also notes the particular lack of obligation that is often involved in volunteer work (see for example Lepp 2009) separating it from paid labour. This case study illustrates the challenges that arise when different actors have different expectations on volunteers' responsibilities. Thus the volunteers' freedom and different interpretations of it were one of the most fundamental results of this research. For example, irregular days and freedom to choose their schedule as well as engagement levels at work were defining characteristics of the volunteer experience. This may partly be attributed to lack of formal orientation. Often the freedom to choose their level of engagement led to that volunteers opted out of some tasks considered 'dirtier' or more difficult to perform. This became the most apparent in the descriptions and emphasis placed on diaper change situations by the local staff.

Despite volunteers' freedom and sometimes small contribution to mundane activities, they were still considered as important element in the organisation within the formal discourse of the higher ranking staff. As the Zambian director of the organisation claimed, the financial benefits of the volunteers were considerable. The director emphasised that the volunteers play an important financial role, because money saved from employing locals can be used for buying food for the children, for exam-

ple. However, the importance of the volunteers seemed to prevail only at the executive level and was not seen or felt in the everyday practices neither by the volunteers nor the rest of the staff. Even though volunteers were officially claimed to be very important to the organisation and replacing paid staff, their work did not include real obligations or was not structured similar to that of the paid staff. Interestingly, the freedom of volunteers was not always felt entirely positively by the volunteers themselves. On the contrary, volunteers often felt they were not really needed since they were not given any specific responsibilities.

Local members of staff were often unaware about the whereabouts of the volunteers who did not have a structured schedule or specific duties. As a result, the volunteers were often shifting between different children's homes and free-time activities. This raises the question of the responsibilities of foreign volunteer workers. From the locals' viewpoint they could not be thought of as having any formal responsibilities, but they hoped the volunteers would take more initiatives themselves. While the staff hoped more input and presence from volunteers, the volunteers often overestimated their impact in the placement when voicing their expectations. In fact, several volunteers indicated that they were surprised of how little they were actually needed in the organisation and how they had to balance this recognition with quite opposite pre-trip expectations. Furthermore, volunteers, who had been in the placement for longer time, expressed a different attitude compared to newcomers. These volunteers, when asked about their responsibilities, considered cultural awareness and giving new ideas through different culture as their main responsibility, instead of specific work related tasks. In essence, these differences between locals' expectations compared to volunteers, tell about a different meaning given to volunteerism.

Other researchers have found similar dynamics in volunteer tourism. Palacios (2010, 870), for example, discusses in his work the confusion and frustration that volunteers felt when not knowing their role in an organisation. Especially in short-term volunteer experiences, the feeling of frustration is quite common from the volunteers' part (Ibid. 867). Other scholars have also pointed out the meaning of freedom in volunteerism. For example, McAllum (2014, 93) found that the freedom to join, to act and to leave from volunteer work were confining attributes of volunteers

in her study and these functions "were premised on doing what one enjoys, what appeals, what is convenient, unhampered by necessity or obligation".

A question of hierarchy

The issue of volunteers' freedom is closely related to hierarchy. Indeed, the analysis shows that the volunteers' actions – or non-actions - indicate the hierarchy in the organisation and the volunteers' place in it. Volunteers had a somewhat ambiguous position in the Children's home, since they were somewhere 'in-between' when it comes to their status at the workplace. They primarily worked in the lower-level jobs, taking care of children, but then again they had the freedom to choose a position which places them higher in the hierarchy and also selecting and deselecting tasks. Volunteers also seemed to engage and spend more time with higher ranked staff, such as social workers instead caregivers. Because of the freedom of volunteers to choose specific tasks, they often opted out of tasks considered dirtier or otherwise less interesting or complicated.

The issue of changing the diapers of the children seemed very important to the staff, acknowledging the amount of local interviewees who said something about it, altogether seven local workers mentioned diaper change as something volunteers would seldom or never do. The local workers would have appreciated if the volunteers would have got their 'hands dirty', and participated in also more unpleasant tasks. At worst, the local staff interpreted the unwillingness of foreigners to change the diaper as a sign of prejudice. However, instead of prejudice the data observations suggest that it was more the question of the volunteers not knowing how to change the diaper or whether it should be done by volunteers overall. The volunteers interpreted the silence of caregivers and not giving instructions in these situations as if they were not needed. This, on the other hand, had much to do with inadequate orientation and training. The diaper change situations involve questions of hierarchy and power. The volunteers had the power to choose specific tasks instead of others and a possibility to be absent from the workplace if they had more interesting activities on some days.

It was rather explicit how the volunteers themselves affect the situation and reshape it according to their own interests. Some volunteers were active from the beginning in learning - both the ways to fold the cloth diaper and even a new language - while others preferred mainly to hold the babies and play with them. Contrary to other development encounters, in this Children's home the volunteers were non-experts, unlike in many other situations where Western development experts and local people with varying levels of education and expertise meet and negotiate. Three of the volunteers in this case study had just finished high school. Young age of volunteers is common in volunteer tourism since many have the time and the possibility for volunteering while being a student or spending their gap year before entering higher education. Despite this, volunteers are often thought of being in a position to be able to 'teach' their hosts as also noted by Sin (2010, 985,987.)

However, the field observations indicated that there is also a positive side to the fact that the volunteers do not have much knowledge about childrearing beforehand. It increases the likelihood for a sort of humbleness and openness to learning, similar to other volunteering experiences abroad. Volunteers, being in a strange new country, especially in the beginning, are dependent on care and guidance provided by local hosts. Therefore, there is a great potential for mutual learning in volunteer tourism. Previous tourism researches have noted the meaning of exchanging knowledge in making new tourism more sustainable compared to mass tourism. With the emphasis on exchanging knowledge instead of helping, the effects on a host country can be more positive, as noted by Spencer (2010, 194).

Volunteers and the children

Apart from studying the encounters of the volunteers and the staff, the dynamics in the encounters of volunteers and children were of special interest in the field. It became apparent that the children at the Children's home were too young to be interviewed. However, Alasuutari (2005, 145) and James (2001, 246) claim that children should have a right to be recognised as real subjects in the academic research. Especially ethnography allows children to be viewed as active social actors. Thus children and

their interaction with the volunteers and staff is considered significant, even though interviewing them was not possible. An interesting theoretical approach to the case of children and volunteers comes from development psychology, namely the theory of attachment. The attachment theory by Bowlby (1988) has not been used much in volunteer research. One of the few studies in this regard is that of Richter and Norman (2010). In the light of this study, attachment theory helps to understand that children can form attachments to several individuals and their choice of the attachment object depends on the quality of the interaction, not the total time spent with him or her (Schaffer 1996, 137, 153).

The children in the placement appeared to be passive recipients of the contribution of the volunteers. They have the least to say whether they would prefer the volunteers or not or which way the volunteers should act. Children's perceptions were then needed to be interpreted by others and when these interests differ there follows the relevant question of who can decide what is best for a child. In the field, interests obviously differed at least when it came to changing the cloth diapers, which way to put the baby in the cot and the temperature of the milk that was given to them. What comes to the interaction between volunteers and the children, the volunteers were interacting with the children more than the locals, talking to them and cuddling with them. This could be partly resulting from fewer obligations of the volunteers as compared to the local staff. Therefore they had more time for that, but also they chose to do what they found personally most rewarding. Some children seemed to be able to quickly form a close bond with a volunteer. The encouragement of volunteers by the local staff to have a 'favourite child' seemed to increase this tendency in volunteers to favour some child over another. Such bonding had also positive effects as some volunteers described how their 'favourite child' had learned new skills such as talking while the volunteers were there and showed other kinds of development more than other children with the same age.

On the other side, this raises serious questions of the psychological effects on these children. It is widely known (see for example Bowlby 1988; Ainsworth1989; Cassidy and Shaver 2008) that children between the age of 0-3 are especially vulnerable to emotional long-term problems and behaviour difficulties if they do not develop stable relationships to

certain guardians or if this relationship ends abruptly. When children who are already vulnerable from previous separation of their mother form close bonds with the volunteers and then experience another disturbance when the volunteers leave, their development may be negatively affected or at worst case they may become traumatised. Therefore, encounters with volunteers and children are something that needs further investigation, especially from research perspectives on psychology and social work. Since foreign volunteers and local caregivers form special bonds with the children, it could be assumed to have an effect on the children's psychological development if these figures often change.

The placement also received some short time visitors every now and then, including representatives of potential funders and volunteers' parents or relatives visiting the site at least once during their child's volunteer period. Some Zambian informants described situations where locals had been instructed by these western visitors about how to put the baby to sleep in the cot. These preferred practices seemed to change every year, and with a new volunteer or even just a short time visitor in the placement, different instructions were given to the local staff. In these situations there are different power structures at play. The comprehension of Westerners of the ways to take care of babies is strongly affected by current research results and recommendations from child health clinics, other professionals and authorities in the developed world. Responding to every new claim that a visitor or a volunteer brings with them and changing the practices of the Children's home accordingly is understandably not possible or even wanted in this organisation.

These negotiations about the preferred practices in the Children's home are an example of the interaction of different 'worlds of knowledge', as Long (1989, 221) describes them. These situations raise the questions as to who are the experts on Zambian children. Are they the local caregivers, many of which are also mothers, Western visitors who are also mothers, young foreign volunteers or educated local nurses? The encounters between the children and the volunteers reflect the everyday situations in the children's home where different actors have their own interests and sometimes those interests collide, creating inconsistencies.

Conclusions

This chapter has intended to illustrate the complex and ambiguous relationships that exist within the phenomenon of volunteer tourism, particularly in the encounters of host and guest through a case study of the Zambian Children's home. In fact, volunteer tourism shares a lot of similar dynamics with development cooperation. They are both driven by partly egoistic, partly altruistic motivations and they are both strongly value-laden operations with significant power implications. In line with Norman Long's ideas of social interface, both the international volunteers and the local workers in the Zambian Children's home shared common interests such as striving for the best of the children, despite some differences. In the interactions of these actors there were also different power structures at play, which became apparent for example in the discussions concerning diaper change where the volunteers did not show interest in learning to change the nappies. Often the power issues were leaning toward volunteers having more power than the locals.

However, 'volunteer tourism encounters' as a phenomenon is also capable of separating itself from traditional development aid discourse. Since volunteers are often young and inexperienced, having arrived for the first time in a new environment, locals have a possibility for caring and guiding the volunteers. This implies that the power structures could be turned upside down, compared to more common encounters in development cooperation with specialized Western experts interacting with locals of varying levels of education. This way the power implications inherent in 'helping' can get a new, different meaning. Furthermore, since one of the objectives of volunteer tourism is to increase cultural awareness and build more equitable relationships between hosts and guests, it would be important for the volunteers' tasks not to be separate from the tasks that the locals do. This, however was not the case in the Zambian Children's home. The situation of the diaper change is an example of a social interface situation where these power discrepancies were explicit. It reflected the volunteers' place in the organisation as well as the differing ideas and conceptions about volunteerism in general. Although flexibility and certain amount of freedom is part of the experience and pleasure in volunteerism, some amount of obligation could add to the value of volunteers' work for themselves, as well as to local receiving organisations.

Following Amartya Sen (1999), who claims that the quality of life should be measured not by our wealth but our freedom, it can be stated that the differences in freedom seen in the Zambian Children's home reflect the differences between 'us' in the developed world and 'them' in the developing world. Not only did volunteers have the freedom to decide about their daily activities, but they also had had the chance to take a break of their ordinary life, travel to a distant country and different culture for a period of some months and work without getting paid. In fact, Guttentag (2012, 156) suggests that "an environment in which one privileged group is donating their time and another underprivileged group is receiving assistance is not particularly conducive to producing an equal-power relationship".

In the last decade there has been a growing public and academic hesitation about whether volunteering is a more ethical alternative to mass tourism (see for example Guttentag 2009; Mowforth and Munt 2003; Palacios 2010; Sin 2010). Among the promoters of volunteer tourism there is an assumption that locals and tourists both have the power to actively negotiate their relations with each other (Sin 2010, 983). As the case study from Zambia illustrates, this is not always the case. Because of the volunteers' freedom to choose their level of engagement, the Zambians were mostly unaware of the volunteers' whereabouts and they could not know beforehand if they would receive additional help from the volunteers on different shifts or not. The chapter has therefore illustrated the importance of focusing on a neglected subject in volunteer tourism, namely that of volunteerism seen from the local perspective. The sample size of the Zambian case study is relatively small and although other research support the findings (see for example Guttentag 2009; Palacios 2010; Sin 2009), larger sample could have added to the diversity of volunteer behaviour, especially since people have a tendency to follow how others behave in a similar position.

Raising awareness of the weaknesses and potential negative impacts of volunteer tourism is not intended to underrate it, as Guttentag (2009, 538) also claims, but to enable host communities as well as volunteers to benefit from it. Based on the analysis of this case study, several recommendations can be made for volunteer tourism involving work with children. Volunteers should be encouraged to ask for help and take part

in all the possible work with the children, including the 'dirtier' tasks. Additionally, mutual understanding would be easier to gain if essential practices and requirements of the placement are mentioned to volunteers coming through the different supplier organisations. This would enhance cross-cultural understanding and awareness of the local realities even before the travel itself. In general, openness and sufficient communication between the receiving and intermediary organisations are strongly recommended. Host organisations should be more explicit about their expectations towards overseas volunteers and provide adequate familiarisation and guidance for people who possibly come to work in a completely new environment and culture. In addition, ethical guidelines provided by both host and sending organisations would be important for volunteers aiming to work particularly with children.

In the light of the expanding sector of alternative tourism, 'volunteer tourism encounters' is a topic that requires further research. It would be important to research how constantly changing faces of volunteers affect children and their psychological development in child-related placements. Equally important would be to study whether the stream of rather heterogeneous volunteers really matches with the local demand on various professionals and assistants in childcare and whether it is something that cannot be supplied by local workers. Volunteers are often transient visitors in the eye of host organisations, but their longer term impact on these organisations and particularly on children in various contexts would require longitudinal studies.

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Is Ecotourism Good News for the Poor?

Introduction

The aim in this chapter is to contribute to discussions on what has been portrayed by Agrawal and Redford (2006:32) as an implementation of sustainability based on combining ecotourism, nature conservation and development with poverty reducing effects in the Global South. Addressing issues of sustainability where ecotourism is seen as a driver for both poverty reduction and nature conservation is scientifically exciting and highly relevant to the development in the Global South.

Primarily four aspects have been motivating factors for writing this chapter. Firstly, my insight and the expectation of being able to contribute something based on more than 30 years of experience from both research and practical experiences with ecotourism, nature conservation and development issues in the Global South. Secondly, contradictory views on sustainability, ecotourism impacts on environment and development as well as the relationships between poverty reduction and conservation. Sustainable development has in recent years achieved consensus status as a future development model combined with growing frustration over the lack of concrete examples of successful examples of sustainable development. Therefore it will be interesting to examine whether ecotourism in the Global South can show new ways. Thirdly, ecotourism as driver for sustainable development does not get less intriguing by conflicting views

on the ecotourism's poverty reducing effects. The following is a few examples of statements from the literature related to tourism and poverty: Chok et al. (2007: 146) states:"...tourism is too often regarded as an economic, social and environmental cure-all." and "Tourism could be an effective tool in fighting poverty" (Duttagupta 2012: 1). Thus, ecotourism has added a new element to frontier resource conflicts: tourism operators and indigenous communities compete against each other for access to resources (Coria and Calfucura 2011). Scheyvens (2009: 192) raises the following question related to the so-called pro-poor tourism: "Can the interest of the poorest members of a society really be served by promoting expectation of a global industry that is founded on inequalities, where individual businesses strive to meet the interest of the market, not the poor, and where elites often capture the majority of benefits of any development, which does occur?" Ashley et al., (2001: 2) argue that even if richer people benefit more than poor, but the poor still benefit, pro-poor tourism can be classified as pro-poor.

Fourthly, in the Global South issues around nature conservation and poverty reduction are particularly interesting and often marked by conflictual relationships and de Sherbinin (2008) argues that nature conservation and in particular established national parks can contribute to marginalization and poverty in the rural communities. Two observations from the field: On the one hand, poverty is often widespread among people living in and around protected areas. On the other hand, ecotourism to protected areas can potentially contribute to local development and thereby alleviate poverty and marginalization. In the following, these issues will be covered and illustrated with examples from the Global South.

The chapter is structured in three sections: First developing an analytical framework which frames 'the field'. This framework forms the basis for the analytical second section structured around selected actors illustrated with several examples from the Global South. The conclusion reflects on ecotourism as driver for a sustainable development with particular focus on perspectives for the poor and nature conservation.

Framing the field

The following outlines some of the methodological and theoretical considerations. Methodological considerations will be focused on three issues, the considerations related to the comparative approach, actor-observer bias, and the actor-oriented approach. There are three attractive factors of the comparative approach: Firstly, opportunities to draw on data from various sources including examples and making comparisons across different fields. Another factor is contributing with something new to the field, as the majority of research and publications on ecotourism is based on single case studies. A third factor is an expectation of a broader and wider basis for statements on prospects of ecotourism.

The comparative approach's strength is also one of its weaknesses, since there are limitations in regards to get in depth with issues. The primary problem with a comparative approach is whether it makes sense to compare examples from different places because context is often fundamentally different and therefore it may be questionable whether it makes sense. The method has been chosen because benefits are seen as greater than the disadvantages.

The practical implementation will be based on a combination of literature studies and my own field research. Two of the challenges in the practical application of the comparative approach are related to the scope and specific choices. Both have been extremely difficult because the material is overwhelming. Two factors have been the starting point for selections, the first is own experiences with specific examples. Secondly, that the selected examples contribute with relevant aspects. The chapter will solely be based on examples from the Global South, since that is the focus in this book and makes most sense in relation to the poverty issue. The ambition is to include concrete examples from different continents, with a bias against Africa, as a majority of my research activities has taken place in Africa. Another decision is to anonymise sources, informants and specific actors, primarily because certain topics are rather sensitive and would cause problems for specific persons and institutions, in case their names are exposed. Locations and other relevant information will be explained when it is relevant and to the furthest extent possible. The rationale behind the analysis structured with three examples per actor category is aiming at including various aspects. The CAMPFIRE program

is selected as recurring in all the categories mainly for two reasons; firstly, with a general example create possibility of getting in depth, which is one of the primary weakness of the comparative approach. Secondly it is selected because it is one of the first and pioneering examples of implementation of the sustainable development of ecotourism as a driver and the specific objective of combining poverty alleviation and nature conservation.

Issues regarding actor-observer bias are appropriate to reflect on seen in the light of my dual function as both scholar and tour operator. In addition to my background in academia I have more than 30 years' experience in ecotourism as a guide or freelance tour operator.

The following are considerations related to an actor oriented approach including chosen types of actors. An actor-oriented approach is selected for various reasons. First, a notion that actors act and through their actions make changes. Secondly, getting insights into key actors' perceptions and actions created an insight in positions and opportunities that may be relevant both to the understanding of the current situation and for reflection on future initiatives. And thirdly, an actor orientation approach in combination with a comparative perspective is underexposed in the ecotourism literature.

In regards to actor types or stakeholders in ecotourism my selection has been inspired by Jamieson's et al (2004) approach except for the omission of International Aid Agencies and Development Organizations due to limited relevance in this context. In the following section there will be a brief description of the five selected key actor's types:

The poor, an obvious category since the primary focus is on poverty issues. The predominant approach to poverty is based on economic poverty with a 1 $ per day as for absolute poverty until 2005 but subsequently revised up to $ 1.25 per day. An alternative Southern approach to poverty, a biomass perspective on poverty has been developed, for example emphasized by Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (1999) who state the following about poverty: For people who live in an economy built on 'natural capital', which can also be described as a 'biomass-based economy', ecological poverty is invariably the main cause of their impoverishment and an inability to meet their basic survival needs. These two approaches are not the only approaches to poverty; it can be difficult to identify the

poor and poverty as well as poor is a heterogeneous group. Therefore, the concept of poor and poverty used in this context is local communities marginalized from economic development in the country.

States and governmental institutions play internationally, nationally and locally important roles. In the national context states create the societal framework on national and local level with implication on a number of issues including ecotourism and all the other types of actors.

The tourists are a prerequisite for the ecotourism. The concept of tourists covers a very diverse group of tourists and tourism. Walter Jamieson et al (2004) quote that: "There are a growing number of tourists who seek to improve the conditions of the destinations they visit." The quote has been an inspiration to focus on the perspective regarding ecotourists' wishes to promote conditions, with primary focus on the poor and nature conservation, on the destination they visit.

Tour operators are relevant because they bring the tourists to destinations. The tour operators are the industry around tourism.

The NGOs are non-governmental organizations and are based in local, national and international contexts. According to Jamieson et al (2004: 7-9) this actor type has significant influence on tourism development as they relate to poverty reduction.

Theory and conceptual clarification

The double aim with this section is, on one hand to create a foundation for understanding central conceptual terms, and on the other to present the central notions, categorizations and other types of tools for application in the analysis. The focus in the following is on key issues related to development (linked to poverty), sustainability, nature conservation, and ecotourism which are then combined with poverty as a cross-cutting topic, as the poverty reducing effect is the focal point in the chapter. Both debates and specific initiatives to combat poverty are often linked to development. Development as a concept is often seen as a positive example as James Ferguson's (1990) study shows. However, consensus often covers differences and sometimes conflicting notions about what development actually is (Ferguson 1990). Seen from a theoretical perspective, there are two classical approaches to development - the modernization theory

and the dependency school. The following presents the key perceptions within the two theoretical approaches with a dual objective of presenting both intellectual baggage and concepts for use in the analysis.

The classical modernization theory is inspired by the development in Western Europe and North America. It is portrayed as a universal role model for societal development based on macroeconomic development with a capitalistic ideological foundation. A central notion in the modernization theory is that society undergoes different phases from traditional to modern society. In the modernization process it is crucial that the traditional structures are eliminated to make ways for development based on new modern structures. A central perception of poverty reduction within this theory is related to the trickle-down effect, which is based on a belief that additional wealth gained by the richest people in society will have positive economic effect on everyone.

The dependency school is a mainly Southern (and Marxist inspired) perspective developed as a critique of the modernization theory and perceived development as rooted in traditions. At the same time it articulated that the development problems in the South are primarily due to external factors, such as colonization and imperialism. The dependency school argues for a New Economic World Order, which is based on justice focusing on social and cultural values. The dependency school is also closely linked with a critique of capitalism and claims that capitalism leads to inequality and exploitation. Contrary to the modernization theory's focus on macroeconomics, the dependency school focuses on local development seen from a micro perspective.

Sustainability and sustainable development are relative new terms. The international breakthrough came in 1987 with a publication called Our Common Future by The World Commission on Environment or also called the Brundtland Report/Commission after the commission's chairwoman Gro Harlem Brundtland. There has been established international consensus that sustainable development is the way forward and it has led to a paradigm shift in the perception of the relation between people, nature and development (Porter el al. 2000). The paradigm shift could be seen as reorientation of the relation between people and nature. The pre-Brundtland approach was based on a Malthusian-inspired judgment-day picture - a negative perception between people and nature,

while the (post-) Brundtland position is that environment and development must be seen as two sides of the same coin and sustainable development is: "... development that meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED 1987: 43)". A central element in the debate about sustainable development is related to economic growth as the driver for poverty alleviation – the following is stated in The Brundtland-report (WCED 1987: 51): "Growth must be revived in developing countries because that is where the links between economic growth, the alleviation of poverty, and environmental conditions operate most directly. Yet developing countries are part of an interdependent world economy; prospects also depend on the levels and patterns of growth in industrialized nations. The medium-term prospects for industrial countries are for growth of 3-4 percentages. Sustainable development has been criticized by scholars for being an empty phase, full of contradictions, and impossible to realize (Jensen 2007). Voices from Southern NGOs support the sustainable development vision, but the Brundtland report's approach, and especially the idea of quantitative growth, is articulated as incompatible with sustainable development. It is stated that sustainable development is based on harmony between people and harmony between people and nature (Jensen 2007). One of the central points in this holistic perception is that human beings are part of natures' ecosystem.

Conservation

This section starts with a clarification of the term conservation, which is supported by a presentation of the various approaches to conservation. There are different entry points to nature conservation and initially it is important to state that there is no universal perception of nature conservation. In the following three aspects related to nature conservation are presented. Beginning with a southern-based approach to conservation often marginalized both in the international debates on nature conservation and in the modern implementation. The southern-based perspective is relevant in order to understand views of marginalized people in the South who are exposed to conservation initiatives with direct implications for their lives. The second section presents key elements in

the northern-based approach to conservation, which forms the basis for nature conservation initiatives. The third section is providing three different approaches to nature conservation.

The so-called Southern approach to nature conservation is in opposition to the Northern nature conservation approach. Erlet Carter (2006: 32) states: "The concept of conservation originates from a Western world that is indeed very different from village life, and as such it represents a new time – new ways of thinking about the environment – that is foreign to the communities. The concept implicitly suggests that the environment should be thought of in terms of scarcity, or threats to scarcity, this being an understanding of the environment, which is foreign to communities who have traditionally lived in an ecologically sustainable manner". "Alternative views upon conservation arise from and are articulated as a generally holistic or cosmos vision view of nature held by indigenous people" (Colchester cited in Mowforth & Munt 2003: 252-256). Furthermore, the commodification of natural and cultural resources by outside interests such as ecotourism can be viewed as eco-imperialistic or eco-colonialist expropriation (see Hall 1994; Mowforth and Munt 2003).

The classical Northern and scientific approaches to nature conservation have traditionally operated with two types of conservation: - in-situ and ex-situ conservation. In-situ conservation is based on protecting nature in the wild nature, whereas ex-situ conservation is based on management outside the natural habitat, for example in botanical gardens or zoos (Jensen 2007). Nature conservation's basic purpose is protection of nature against human activities with negative consequences which ultimately may result in the eradication of nature. In relation to concrete initiatives to nature conservation P. Blaikie (1996) has decoded three different forms, which are relevant in this context and they are:

The classical approach is based on state intervention and thus often works in an authoritarian way by establishing protected areas. From that approach, the basis for action is the (Northern) scientific knowledge and interpretation of the problem, where the biological condition is the primary "driver". Human welfare is hardly on the agenda and it often implies an antagonistic attitude to local communities and livelihood strategies.

The neo-populist approach has emerged within the last fifty years and it can be characterized as a more "people-oriented" approach to nature

conservation, where local communities are seen as part of the solution in different types of co-management programs. The new is that people are seen as part of the solution and not the problem as in the previous approach. In this approach it is stated that if local people do not support protected areas, the protected areas cannot last (Jensen 2007).

The neo-liberal approach is based on the calculation of economic costs and benefits in connection with nature conservation. This approach is based on the idea of states' (bureaucratic) inability to manage nature conservation while markets' regulation of the use and conservation is emphasised as crucial. The market-based management is based on the market situation and prices signal scarcity of resources. The benefit of market-based instruments is supposed to be that they are more effective and cheaper than state regulation based on "command and control". This approach also contains the underlying assumption that economic incentives are essential for nature conservation (Wunder, 2000).

The clarification of ecotourism will be focusing on two aspects. Firstly, a clarification of ecotourism and other relevant concepts and secondly focus will be on eco-tourism in a development perspective. Ecotourism has been defined in several ways. Fennel (2001) has for example identified 85 definitions of ecotourism. Erlet Carter (2006) warns to consider how uncritical acceptance of Western-constructed ecotourism and a failure to recognize that there is no universal or unique understanding, which will only serve to reinforce rather than reduce the very inequalities that it may attempt to reduce. Blamey (1997, 2001) writes that there is now near-consensus that ecotourism should satisfy three core criteria, i.e. (1) attractions should be predominantly nature-based, (2) visitor interactions with those attractions should be focused on learning or education, and (3) experience and product management should follow principles and practices associated with ecological, socio-cultural and economic sustainability. This chapter uses Erlet Cater's (2006: 23) definition working with a broader approach to ecotourism, which briefly can be described as: The common denomination is that it is nature-based. Tourism research usually operates with a number of typologies that are relevant, such as the distinctions between mass and alternative tourism, North-South and South-South tourism, luxury tourism etc. They will be used without going into details with typologies. Another issue regarding tourism is that

consumers reach the product (as opposed to the reverse) facilitating a ripple-effect in purchasing of tourism related goods and services (Sudip Duttagupta 2012). Ecotourism is highly relevant seen in a development perspective for the Global South and its importance seems to be growing. According to Coria and Calfucura (2011) ecotourism has been growing at rates of 10%-12% per year, i.e. three times faster than the tourism industry as a whole. This is obviously based on the growth of tourism and it being considered one of the world's largest industries. In this context Erlet Cater (2006) points out that nature-based tourism is one of the world's most lucrative niche markets, that powerful transnational corporations are likely to exploit. A related aspect linked to the role of the private sector is the fact that tourism is becoming a significant and growing economic sector in most developing countries and the only sector that really demonstrates a continuous upward trend (Scheyvens 2009).

The issue regarding ecotourism as the private sector and its' role is something that is widely discussed in the literature. From both a poverty alleviation and nature conservation perspective, there has traditionally been scepticism towards the private sector. For example Scheyvens (2009) states that the motivation for investors to work with ecotourism is to make profit, not to serve the poor:" Why then should we assume that they might have some ethical commitment to ensuring that their businesses contribute to poverty alleviation?" In continuation of this Erlet Carter also emphasizes that: "Western ideology and values, and its practice is frequently dominated by Western interests, the advocacy of ecotourism as universal template arise from Western hegemony."

When it comes to the development perspectives on ecotourism, the development trends will initially be touched upon. In that context the focus will be on the perspectives on ecotourism seen from a local perspective with predominantly focus on implications for the poor. Tourism is seen as a diverse industry that can promote strategic linkages with other sectors and thus generate multiple benefits. Sudip Duttagupta (2012) mentions a number of benefits related to tourism in general, such as:

- Tourism is labour intensive, therefore has the ability to employ sizeable percentages of the population.

- Tourism can also promote gender equality through the employment of women in the service sector and in the informal sector.

- Tourism can facilitate micro-entrepreneurship through the formal or informal economies.

- Tourism can lead to infrastructure developments in terms of improved roadways, public transport systems, water supply, electricity supply, etc.

- Tourism allows the poor to leverage natural resources

The above concepts are central and will be used in the analysis as follows.

The Analysis

The aim with this section is to analyse the implications of ecotourism on nature conservation and in particular the poor in the Global South. The following reflects on selection criteria and structure of analysis. The inspiration for selection are drawn from Lund's (2014) approach focusing on relevance as opposed to Flyvbjerg's (1992) classical distinctions between representative and extreme cases. Often it's difficult to assess cases/examples as either extreme or representative while criterion of relevance is easier to determine. The relevance of the applied examples will be outlined in the following section. The analysis section is structured around the five selected actor types. Each section starts with introductory remarks on the actor types as well as a brief intro about the selected examples. Each example is briefly described and then analysed in relation to issues related to development, sustainability, nature conservation and finally on potential in ecotourism. The section ends with some general considerations and perspectives including issues on interaction with oth-

er actors. After the three examples are analysed, there will be a final discussion of selected issues related to the actor type. The analysis of actors and examples vary in extent due to several factors, the decision to make special attention to the CAMPFIRE programme is because of rich material of diverse activities over long time.

The tourists

We begin with the tourist category because tourists are a prerequisite for eco-tourism. The selected examples illustrate various types of tourists: The tourists in the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe, tiger tourism in India and safari tourism in Masai Mara in Kenya. The examples represent different aspects of the tourist category, where CAMPFIRE primarily attracts "consuming" tourists in the form of hunting tourists, often high-end tourists. The other examples are from tiger tourism in India, where the focus is on domestic tourists, often categorized as South-South-tourists, a segment which is growing, particularly in Asia. The third example is the tourists to Masai Mara, which has developed into a mass tourism destination within safari tourism.

CAMPFIRE

The tourists who are in the focus of CAMPFIRE are hunters. CAMPFIRE has a popular slogan: use it or lose it, which refers to the exploitation of nature and hunting tourism is a key element in relation to the exploitation and CAMPFIRE. The majority of hunters are influential and wealthy and with the development in the North recreation hunting has become less of an exclusive privilege for the few. At the same time hunting is usually in short supply in most affluent societies where people are prepared to pay for hunting elsewhere (Child 1995).

Development: Tourists in CAMPFIRE has a dualistic view on development, on the one hand demand of exclusive experiences in the wild. On the other hand, they have a classic modernization approach to development in general.

Sustainability: A key element in CAMPFIRE is sustainable development and that appeals to tourists because they feel that they contribute to local sustainable development when they practice their hobby. Several of the hunters called it double happiness, thus linking them up to a classical Brundtland approach to development. In addition, central for hunters is unique experience in nature hunting down specific animals in the wild without people. The majority of hunters' views on local people in the wild were based on a Malthusian approach.

Nature conservation: The dominant view among hunters is the importance of classical nature conservation based on protected areas such as nature reserves. Additionally they see perspectives in the neo-liberal nature conservation and highlight the trickle-down effect to the poor local communities as positive because it implicates that these communities could contribute to (better) nature conservation.

Ecotourism effect: Hunters have a pragmatic approach to eco-tourism and sees tourism as being very positive and highlight jobs as service function for them. Beyond that, the hunters see their activities contributing to the improvement of nature, because they are shooting the weak animals and this makes animal populations healthier.

Tourists in CAMPFIRE are in general positive about products that CAMPFIRE has on offer. The tourists' relations with the other actors can be characterized by conflicts often related to tourist operators and indirectly to the local poor people living in CAMPFIRE-communities because a key demand from hunting tourists is wild nature, large contiguous areas of nature without people and livestock. In hunting areas all human activities are unacceptable to the hunters. Additionally, many tourists highlight a need for investment in infrastructure to improve access to hunting areas.

Indian Tiger tourists

Tourists in connection with tiger tourism in India are relevant because that type of tourism is growing and tourism industry plays a growing role in the context of nature conservation in the country. Wildlife tourism has averages 15% growth rates in India. Previously, the vast majority of tourists in connection with tiger tourism has been international tourists

but in recent years, domestic tourism has been growing and more than 70% of visitors are Indian (Krithi K. Karanth et al 2012)

Development: The Indian tourists visiting tiger reserves belong to the fast growing Indian middle class. Their views on development seem to be dominated by a dualistic notion on one side focusing on protected areas for tigers with opportunities to experience the tigers in their natural surroundings. On the other side a view on development based on a classical modernization approach.

Sustainability: The Indian tourists have a traditional Malthusian approach to people and human activities, and are highly critical towards local communities around tiger reserves, because they perceive them as a threat to tigers and nature.

Nature conservation: The Indian tourists have a predominantly classical approach to nature conservation and support protection of nature in nature reserves. At the same time, these tourists are very focused on experiences with tigers in the wild. The Indian tourists' often celebrate with loud cheering if they see a tiger; furthermore the documentation of the experience is also highly significant for them, therefore the Indian tourists will go far in order to capture the optimal recording, which in certain situations can cause different initiatives, in which the animal may be awaken or in other ways change behaviour.

Eco-tourisms effect: Pragmatic and predominantly positive and several tourists emphasizes that increased tourism to nature reserves with tigers create local jobs and the infrastructure has been improved. Several tourists have visited tiger reserves several times with family and friends. The tiger-related activities can be seen as a social event practiced with others. The collective experience of nature means that it is not uncommon in tiger reserves to see 100 jeeps around a tiger.

Tiger tourists interact with several actors with cases of conflict. One conflict is between tourists and nature conservation NGO's who believe that tourists' activities are harmful to tigers, which is a global endangered species in major decline. The conflict has led to an NGO has pushed the Indian government to close all tiger reserves in a period and subsequently implement management with plans that restrict the tourists' activities in the nature reserves and at the same time offering better protection for tigers.

Safari tourists in Masai Mara, Kenya

Safari tourists have for more than 30 years flocked to the Masai Mara one of Africa's most popular safari destinations. The tourists visiting Masai Mara are ranging from backpackers to luxury tourists. The vast majority is international tourists' added increasing numbers of Chinese tourists. The diversity of tourists is a challenge in presenting views from these categories therefore the mass tourism segment will be in focus because this group seems to be growing and has received limited attention within ecotourism. Initially, most tourists choosing Masai Mara primary focus is on experiencing the wild nature and a majority aim at seeing the Big Five (Buffalo, Rhino, Elephant, Leopard and Lion).

Development: The tourists' views on development is based on a classical modernization approach with a need for development for the poor (mainly Masai). The tourists see the need for the development of the Masai at the same time as they appreciate experiencing traditional Maasai dance (in evening entertainment at the lodges) and buying traditional Masai handicrafts.

Sustainability: The dominating view among tourists of relations between humans and nature are predominantly based on a Malthusian approach or perhaps more accurately a dualistic perspective where wilderness areas are for nature and other areas are for human exploitation benefitting people with sharp boundaries between these areas. Tourists articulate their dissatisfaction if these limits are exceeded - an example of that occurred during a visit to the Masai Mara in November 2014 - a very dry year in the Masai Mara area meant that local Masai's herders took livestock to the nature reserve for grazing. The tourists reacted by making complaints to the responsible government institutions, guides and tour operators, because the cattle did not belong in the nature reserve.

Nature conservation: A majority of tourists views classical conservation as preferable, which is in line with the above and want experiences with wildlife without people. The majority of tourists perceive local people in the nature reserve negatively. However, tourists are positive about the neo-liberal approach if neighbouring communities benefit from tourism.

Ecotourism effect: Tourists welcome tourism and highlight several benefits for the poor such as job creation as well as contributions to micro-entrepreneurship. So tourism is seen as development generating activity for poor people living around Masai Mara.

Sum up and reflections on tourists

Ecotourists are a complex group and therefore it is difficult to generalize, but as it is documented in the abovementioned examples, the ecotourists' main motivation and goal is egotistical and focused on getting experiences in nature. The Zimbabwean example shows that tourists' primary focus is on exclusive experiences with the untouched nature. The good experience for the Indian tourists is seeing a particular animal – the tiger. For the safari tourists in Kenya it is primarily the wild nature with selected charismatic species. Common for the tourists are the experience with the wild nature linking up to a classical approach to nature conservation. In relation to the aforementioned Jamieson et al (2004) quote, no evidence to comment on the growth in tourists that directly takes part in the poverty reduction in connection with ecotourism. On the contrary, the experiences from the aforementioned examples show that poverty-reducing effects are not the main motivation for the ecotourists' choice of destination. Numerous conversations with tourists and observations of tourists from the aforementioned examples, makes me conclude that the common notion among tourists is that their presence and the ecotourism in general contribute to the economic development based on the classical trickle-down to the local poor. Additionally demanding an increase in education of local communities and thereby a modernization with a positive development for the poor and nature conservation. The above shows that tourists are powerful actors, they have predominantly negative views of the poor and support implementation of initiatives for nature and against people. Saarinen (2004: 446) highlights how, given the unequal power relations, "the touristic idea and its representations of wilderness areas as places of aesthetic and scenic value may first contest ideologically and then displace in practical terms the local uses of nature as a resource for traditional livelihoods".

Tour operators

Structurally, the tour operator industry is like any other industry and comprises producers with different size, skills etc., focusing on a market - ecotourism. Tour operators are a diverse category with large multinational companies as well as small one-man businesses. There is not only a great diversity in the size of tour operators there are also many and a growing number of tour operators. In the following focus is on tour operators in relation to CAMPFIRE and focus will be on safari companies. The other example is one of the largest high-end ecotourism tour operators in Southern Africa with activities in a number of destinations mainly in Southern Africa. This tour operator has recently been one of Africa's frontrunners in environment friendly tourism. Finally, an example from South America - a small niche tour operator from Brazil, locally based and in close corporation with NGO's and other private donors supporting combined local sustainable eco-tourism with nature conservation.

CAMPFIRE

The tour operators in CAMPFIRE are perceived as a key player because they provide tourism that creates the economic foundation for the sustainable use of nature and important economic resources for the local communities. In the initial phase CAMPFIRE incomes increased from Z$ 743,699 in 1989 to 34 million in 1998 (Jensen 2007). Tourism was the most important source of income, with hunting alone contributing more than 90 percent of CAMPFIRE's income (Child et al 1997).

In the first years after CAMPFIRE was established there was growth in the number of tour operators (Child 1995). Two distinctive types of tour operators can be identified in CAMPFIRE, local primarily black tour operators and external primarily white tour operators. CAMPFIRE experienced rivalry between the two groups of tour operators, primarily over market shares. These factors are taken into account by making a double analysis of tour operators, which distinguishes between local and external, the latter includes both national and international tour operators.

Development: Basically, tour operators focus on making money, but there are fundamental differences, the local tour operators' focus particularly on local development including local people for the jobs based on

local networks. Whereas the external tour operators have a classic modernization approach through adaptation to demands from tourists hiring the best available staff and try to attract more tourists and make money. The starting point for the external tour operators is a classical modernization approach.

Sustainability: Both types of tour operators subscribe to the Brundtland notion of sustainability, but where the external tour operators primarily focus on the economic aspects, with elements of a Malthusian approach to nature, because the customers demand experiences with wild nature without people. Local tour operators' focus is also on sustainability, but primarily on the local, social and cultural aspects of sustainable use of natural and social resources with benefits for local development.

Nature conservation: The external tour operators are linking up to a neo-liberal paradigm. The local tour operators' focus is not on nature conservation but on local development and improving living conditions for people in CAMPFIRE areas.

Ecotourism effects: The two tour operators have different perspectives on tourism whereas external tour operators stress that tourism contributes jobs and improved management of nature. The local tour operators were initially interested in tourism and expected opportunities in tourism. The attitude changed and not least due to many local tour operators were outcompeted. The new reality meant that the (local former) tour operators considered tourism a new form of exploitation of local people.

The internal relations within the tour operator actor category is relevant because there have been considerable tensions between them. This can be seen as a micro perspective on conflicts characterized in Rhodesia and later Zimbabwe where the whites are privileged and able to take advantage of opportunities and the blacks lose out and become marginalized. Specifically an alliance between local tour operators and local CAMPFIRE communities and a dominant idea that they are exploited and that includes tourism. The external tour operators have been able to adapt to demands from other actors especially tourists in order adjust to market conditions.

Large tour operator from Southern Africa

This particular tour operator is deeply specialized focusing on a market segment aiming at luxury ecotourists in exclusive destinations primarily in southern Africa. The company owns or lease large tracts of land which is zoned for indigenous wildlife and often with accommodation facilities in the areas. This tour operator has in recent years expanded activities in several areas.

Development: This tour operator has a clear cut modernization approach with investments in climate-friendly initiatives plus investment in educational and other social initiatives in local communities around their tourist activities. The education initiatives are called "children in the wilderness", where groups of local children are invited to tours in the safari areas and stay overnight in company lodges etc. The tour operator also buys locally produced handicraft, hire people from the local area etc.

Sustainability: This tour operation connects to the Brundtland approach of sustainability with economic growth as key. Investments in environmental and social conditions are used in getting a leading market position to attract the segment of conscious political consumers.

Nature conservation: A combination of the classical approach with neo-liberal and neo-populist elements. The classical approach because focus is on wild animals in the wild. The neo-liberal because of investment in nature to improve nature including re-introduced species that have been there and been eradicated. Neo-populist because it includes investment in local people.

Eco-tourism effects: The tour operator sees tourism supporting local development by providing jobs, education, investment in nature and people. It has in cases strengthened local infrastructure, contributed to micro entrepreneurship focused on women, thereby and not least improving nature and human sustainable utilization of nature.

This tour operator has a dual goal with these initiatives, firstly to accommodate the tourists' wishes of a more environmentally friendly and sustainable tourism. Secondly, to strengthen the relations to the neighbouring local communities, while also preventing conflicts between local communities. This tour operator has on-going conflicts with other actors mainly poor in local communities and state institutions mainly around land issues.

Rainforest tourists in Brazil

In South America as a whole and Brazil in particular ecotourism is a growth sector. One of the growth areas are locally based tour operators selling a local product that is often related to a unique natural product. This example is a tour operator based in the Atlantic rainforest region, a highly threatened habitat. This tour operator is a family project, previously the family livelihood was based on classic agriculture, but they have diversified and expanding activities in to rainforest tourism.

Development: This tour operator's development model is based on a modernization approach, which is based on both the classic profit-driven economic development, but at the same time investing in the improvement of nature and especially expanding areas and management of the Atlantic forest. Specifically by acquisition of land aiming to replant it with native tree species.

Sustainability: This tour operator is inspired by the Brundtland-approach with sustainable use, while having an item of a Malthusian perspective when it comes to the need to regulate against human exploitation.

Nature conservation: A neo-liberal approach based on positive perspectives both for people and nature by using the market. This tour operator has been able to attract investments and donations from actors in and outside Brazil earmarked for acquisitions of land for replanting.

Eco-tourism effects: This tour operator have a pragmatic approach and is creating jobs in several areas: various functions at the lodge, tour guides etc. Most of the staff is from the countryside nearby the farm. They are also working on improving the infrastructure benefitting everybody in the area.

This tour operator's activities are depending on tourists buying products. In addition, the activities in the area are also dependent on external financial support from other stakeholders, the most important are international nature conservation NGOs and there is also interest from the private companies for example an oil company has shown their interest in supporting the tour operator with economic support to buy land for replanting trees.

Sum up and reflections on tour operators

The above shows that tour operators adapt to their initiatives continuously in order to improve the business – earning money and creating a sustainable business. Improvements in the business mean investments in the environment and sometimes in local communities.

Tour operators are powerful actors because they come with the tourists and they intend to cooperate with other actors in order to create so-called win-win situations. The crucial issue related to tour operators and Western ecotourism is (e.g. Carter 2006) that it fails to recognize, or downplays the fundamentally divergent values and interests between the promoters and targets of ecotourism. The dominant ideology of ecotourism as conservation-for-development may quite often not resonate with other, non-Western, societies.

Tour operators have requirements, in particular to local communities, such as demands to stop agricultural activities in specific areas as the rationale is that tourists are looking for experiences with nature and not humans. In the tour operators' self-understanding they contribute to improved management of nature and poverty alleviation based on a classical modernization approach relying on local trickle-down, in particular when it comes to the economic sphere. The tour operators also focus on development of local communities through education and build connections with local communities by employing people. However, in many cases, ecotourism in Africa offers limited job opportunities for the poor, as operators mainly use imported labour. Jamieson et al. (2004) state that a growing body of evidence shows that tourism development enriches local elites, international and expatriate companies and generates low paying and low status employment. Experience shows that when economic benefits are high, but access opportunities are not evenly distributed, ecotourism may in fact exacerbate existing resource conflicts due to the perception that costs of protection are borne collectively and individually.

The Poor

The poor is not a homogenous group and poverty can be experienced in very different ways depending on the context. In the following examples

the majority of the people are poor, economically marginalised, in a subsistence economy, implying that their ability to survive is related to their ability to exploit natural resources locally. The CAMPFIRE-programme is chosen given that a central element in CAMPFIRE is poverty reduction to be achieved by increasing income-generating opportunities for poor communities (Jensen 2007). The second example is from ecotourism activities in rainforest areas in Eastern Madagascar, selected because a combination of widespread poverty and international interests owing to a high degree of endemic biodiversity. The third example is from Ladakh in Northern India focusing on snow leopard tourism which has developed very fast within the last couple of years.

CAMPFIRE

The reason for widespread poverty in CAMPFIRE areas is because agriculture cannot support the majority of the people (Child 1996). The poor in CAMPFIRE areas have traditionally been accused by other actors for degrading the land based on the perception that traditional livelihood means over-utilization of nature. In the CAMPFIRE programme the poor are not seen as part of the problem but as part of the solution and according to Graham Child (1996: 17): "...innovative solutions will have to be found to enhance rural production without further environment damage. The wildlife-based industry, especially tourism, has emerged as an increasingly important strut." The key element in the CAMPFIRE program was that the local poor could earn money through the sustainable use of wild animals based on hunting tourism. The following describes how the poor look at the possibilities in CAMPFIRE.

Development: The poor saw The CAMPFIRE programme as an external intervention misfit to local circumstances with lack of local participation in planning and excluded from decision on selection of areas for CAMPFIRE. A second critique was related to the foundation of CAMPFIRE and a study carried out in one CAMPFIRE area showed that 85 percent of those asked saw no perspectives in use of wild animals (Hill 1996). Thirdly, some stated that CAMPFIRE meant a step backward for development if they have to give up farming for a life with wild animals (Jensen 2007). This criticism is in line with the perspectives within dependency school.

Sustainability: The poor's perspective on sustainability is based on a Southern approach to sustainability with a primary focus on development based on social and cultural sets of values. They saw CAMPFIRE as a return to the "bad old days" living with wildlife" and some articulated slogans like: CAMPFIRE destroys our opportunities for development (Alexander and MacGregor 2000).

Nature conservation: The poor's perspective on nature conservation seems to be in accordance with the critical Southern perspective on nature conservation and they regard CAMPFIRE as a new form of protection of nature based on classical exclusion of local communities which thereby prevented them from development.

Eco tourism effects: In the local CAMPFIRE communities views on ecotourism were negative and highly critical because of lack of improvement of their living conditions. Several mention that in the case of available CAMPFIRE generated money to local communities then CAMPFIRE suggested the money to be reinvested, often in infrastructure projects to facilitate tourists' access to areas.

The poor's frustration over the CAMPFIRE program was extensive, both because they had to adapt to tourism in the area which meant deterioration of living conditions and in stark contrast to what they initially had been informed by CAMPFIRE.

The poor in CAMPFIRE were in conflict with several of the other actors and they felt cheated by the State in relation to local autonomy with local slogan: "We want our CAMPFIRE, not the district's CAMPFIRE" (Alexander and MacGregor 2000: Chapter 2). Another aspect is related to the economy where the poor believe that the State has not paid them the money as agreed. The State institutions, primarily the Rural District Council has kept the money and used it for other activities (for more see Jensen 2007).

Poor in Madagascar rainforest

Madagascar is one of the world's poorest countries and also a so-called biodiversity hotspot. The combination of rich nature and widespread poverty provides an obvious example that highlights the opportunities of ecotourism as a driver for sustainable development. Tourism to Mad-

agascar has through the recent decades been growing and focus in the following will be on ecotourism activities in connection with the rainforest areas in Eastern Madagascar. The poor in the eastern Madagascar are deeply marginalized and they have traditional livelihood based on slash-and-burn farming. Some people in local communities are involved in tourism while the vast majority are not directly involved in ecotourism activities.

Development: The views expressed on development are diverse, especially young men see tourism as an opportunity for development and the majority are linked to a modernization approach. Others, especially the elderly, see a new era of tourism with perspectives that correspond to dependency school because local conditions change with growing inequality, crime, alcoholism and other forms of abuse.

Sustainability: The majority sees sustainability from a utilization perspective and sees exploitation of nature as key to sustainable use. Those involved in tourism articulate views that link up to the Brundtland discourse on sustainable use of the rainforest.

Nature conservation: The majority sees nature conservation as hampering development. Most of those linked to the tourism industry have a neo-liberal approach to nature conservation and articulate a need for more tourists and the prospect of increased revenue opportunities.

Ecotourism effects: Some people see tourism as exploitation and deterioration of living conditions locally. This is especially highlighted in conflicts and the intensification of conflicts between local, predominantly due to power struggles for access to resources in the context of tourism. Most of those involved in tourism claim that tourism has been positive for them and for development locally, primarily because it creates jobs, mainly for men. It is hoped that tourism could promote infrastructure projects.

For the poor in Madagascar's rainforest areas, ecotourism has opened up for several new opportunities in terms of jobs related to tourism. The tasks are primarily concerning servicing the tourists, examples of that can be related to jobs in hotels and guide activities in nature. In the first wave of rainforest tourism in Madagascar a high number of jobs accrued to the local community, especially since Madagascar generally uses local labour, in contrast to other ecotourism destinations where labour is imported to the specific tourism destination. The aforementioned should

result in exceptionally good opportunities for the poor in rainforest areas and the effect of tourism at the selected ecotourism destination in Eastern Madagascar.

The increased earnings due to the ecotourism in the area have also created conflicts, primarily as a consequence of the uneven distribution of the earnings locally. The reason for the uneven distribution can be related to the tourists' demands and their desire to have the best local guide(s). This has resulted in certain individuals gaining higher earnings than others, which has led to local tensions and conflicts. There has been at least one case of a nature guide being killed by others in the local community, according to local information, the reason for this was that he was simply too skilled and handled many guide tasks.

Another element for the poor in relation to ecotourism in the specific area, is the limited absorption capacity related to the economic boom that ecotourism has caused locally. It can be seen by the poor's limited opportunities when it comes to saving as well as investing and that has resulted in the majority of the money that the poor earn being used for consumer goods, such as alcohol, prostitution and so on, which has contributed to the destabilisation of individuals and to some degree the local community, as in a classical gold rush.

Poor living with Snow Leopards

Snow leopard tourism in Himalaya is a new form of niche tourism in Ladakh. The Northern part of India has developed into an epicentre for this specialized form of ecotourism. Snow leopard tourism is relevant in relation to the poor due to snow leopards living primarily in mountain areas with a predominantly Tibetan population – who are very poor and live under very extreme and harsh conditions. The poor in "the snow leopard-areas" live from cultivation of the land in the short summer period and from livestock, primarily yaks. Traditionally there have been tensions between locals and the nature conservation interests because snow leopards sometimes kill livestock and the locals are prohibited from killing snow leopards because they are protected under the Indian law.

Development: The lifestyle of people living in these areas is based on Tibetan Buddhism. Local communities are barely affected by moderniza-

tion processes. There seems to be widespread satisfaction with life, even though large proportions of people that traditionally inhabited the areas do not live there, they are working or enrolled in education programmes outside the local communities.

Sustainability: Sustainability is not a concept known in the local areas, but they practice a traditional lifestyle that seems adapted to local conditions.

Nature conservation: The local communities' view of nature conservation is religiously-culturally based with respect for all living beings. Specifically, this means that wild animals should only be killed if they threaten humans and livestock.

Ecotourism effects: The local communities articulate positive views about snow leopard tourism, because it takes place in the ice cold winter, with limited other job opportunities and agricultural activities. Snow leopard tourism is seen as bringing jobs - especially in connection with accommodation for tourists and guides. Tourism has also contributed to micro-entrepreneurship where women sell locally produced handicraft. Tourism has particularly helped women who are responsible for the housing of tourists, whereas men work as guides. The locals take pride in tourists arriving from around the world visiting the area looking for snow leopards.

People articulate widespread satisfaction with tourism and its contribution to the local area. It should be noted that the areas visited had local coordinators, for example by tourists' accommodation, in order to allocate costs and revenues from tourists. Cooperation between other actors was articulated as positive in particular the cooperation between a local NGO and local tour operators were described as good. By contrast, people articulated dissatisfaction with the state, specifically in relation to compensation mechanisms for damage caused by wild animals. The Indian state offers economic compensation options that are available to the local community, but the options have only been utilized to a limited extent, which is due to the locals finding the options too bureaucratic and the fact that their expenses are not fully covered. With the emerging snow leopard tourism, other actors have also entered in the local area, including a local nature conservation NGO and a local tour operator. In the cooperation between the local community, the NGO and the tour operator, sev-

eral initiatives have been implemented in order to combine local development and nature conservation. The local area has been able to invest in stables for the livestock through external financing, which has benefited the locals as well as protected the snow leopards. Additionally, locals were educated as guides and were also included in a home-stay scheme, which meant that the locals could accommodate tourists and that locals decided where and how many tourists should live in the specific areas. The locals also established an economic transfer scheme, thereby distributing the money equally that they earned from tourism.

Sum up and reflections on the poor 's opportunities

Although the aforementioned examples provide very different pictures of the poor's opportunities in relation to ecotourism, it is my experience that the rural poor are initially positive towards tourists and ecotourism. The above shows that the poor have very different living conditions and that ecotourism has different implications on the poor. Whether the poor benefit from tourism varies and the poverty – reducing effect is questioned by several researchers, also within tourism research (e.g. Jamieson et al. 2004). CAMPFIRE is an example of very limited benefits to the poor, if any, but on the contrary growing local costs in relation to ecotourism. CAMPFIRE is an example of a neo-populist approach to nature conservation and sustainable development, where the poor do not wineither economically or in other areas, but rather feel marginalized. The majority of people in the local community see CAMPFIRE as an environmental project that is aimed at eradicating problematic animals. The perception of the locals has been that ever since the implementation of CAMPFIRE, there has been deterioration in living conditions due to local people being excluded from land in order to make room for wildlife and the tourists' experience of the wild nature. As Pera and McLaren (1999) describe, such development undermines traditional subsistence patterns, agriculture, community integrity and economic self-reliance. Paradoxically, the consumptive orientation, largely sustainable, of indigenous people versus the non-consumptive orientation of eco-tourists also throws into focus fundamentally divergent values and interests between consumers and targets of ecotourism.

The example from Madagascar shows how ecotourism can bring employment and money to a poor area, but not necessarily resulting in an improved economic situation for some of the poor. At the same time ecotourism has contributed to conflicts, addiction and criminalization internally in the local community. The challenges for the poor are internal conflicts caused by local distribution and weak absorption capacity.

The example from snow leopard tourism shows opportunities for local community through ecotourism, in this case there seems to be a win-win situation for the poor in the local area as well as for nature conservation, specifically the snow leopards. There are several reasons for the poor looking at snow leopard tourism as positive and contributing to their development; such as strong local institutions that distribute revenues internally and negotiate conditions with external actors.

The State

States and governmental institutions play a key role in all societies and so do governmental institutions in relation to tourism, nature conservation and poverty alleviation. Traditionally, many governments have seen tourism as a growth area for the society and the following section will focus on two states and their role in relation to ecotourism initiatives. The selection is Zimbabwe where the CAMPFIRE program is located. Tanzania is selected as the second example because large parts (about 20%) of the country are covered by government protected nature with nature reserve; therefore it will be relevant to look at the country in the context of ecotourism.

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE-programme is seen by many as a breakthrough for the practical implementation of sustainable use in natural resource management. Zimbabwe's government has received international recognition for its role in the development of CAMPFIRE. Subsequently, the State has also been credited by the (partial) collapse of CAMPFIRE around 2001. The State was the driving force in creating conditions for CAMPFIRE by revision of the Wildlife Act in both 1975 and 1982 which

allowed private landowners and local communities to manage local natural resources. The decentralization of natural resources management was a paradigmatic shift away from classical nature conservation based on the perception of protection of nature without people to nature conservation with people. The State's assumption behind decentralization was that in most of the country exploitation of wildlife was more beneficial than agriculture (Jensen, 2007).

Development: The Zimbabwean state's fundamental point of view on development was based on the modernization with economic growth as a central element. The idea was that through economic growth a trickle-down effect would benefit to the poor. The CAMPFIRE program can be seen as part of the modernization of poor rural areas where tourism was considered as a generator of economic development.

Sustaianability: The CAMPFIRE program and its sustainable use of nature was ahead of the Brundtland Commission. The new vision was based on the perception that instead of converting wildlands into agricultural areas, people should be able to use the wildlands in a sustainable way. The State played a central role in setting up CAMPFIRE and specifically the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management initiated the specific decentralization management initiatives based on a perception of a sustainable approach combining nature conservation and poverty alleviation. The target areas for the CAMPFIRE were areas with wildlife and poor people.

Nature conservation: Zimbabwe's approach to nature conservation was a combination of classical, neo-populist and neo-liberal. The classical nature management approach practiced in protected areas is based on a Malthusian approach; a focus on nature without people, apart from tourists. The perception in CAMPFIRE was based on a combination of the neo-liberal and neo-populist approach, where the market in terms of tourists was perceived as an important instrument. It was expected that both rural poor and nature could benefit from the new management model.

Ecotourism effects: The state sees tourism as very positive and the focus is primarily on job creation, but also claims that tourism can contribute to better management of nature outside protected areas.

Zimbabwe has received wide recognition for pioneering initiatives in implementing sustainable development with the objective of contributing to the development of the poor while improving nature management. In the actual implementation, the State has been criticized by several actors, in particular NGOs and the poor in CAMPFIRE areas. The primary criticism has focused on the lack of decentralization and State collapse. Although decentralization was a central element in CAMPFIRE, the specific CAMPFIRE projects were not controlled by local communities but local State institutions and thereby controlled by the State or more specific by the Rural District Councils. The institutional set-up created from the beginning created tensions over control and decision-making power and issues over distribution of the income. Later on, around year 2001, State institutions were presented by several actors as the main reason for why several CAMPFIRE projects collapsed due to conflicts. A changing political landscape marked by conflicts in connection with land reform and other conflicts subsequently led to international sanctions and further deterioration of the political and economic climate in Zimbabwe. The conflicts between local CAMPFIRE communities were related to dissatisfaction with State institutions and mainly due to lack of transfer of funds to local communities. As a result a number of CAMPFIRE projects collapsed.

Tanzania

Tanzania is interesting because it is, like Kenya, one of the central safari destinations in Africa.

Development: Tanzania has changed its development strategy over time; the development strategy at independence was based on a traditional dependency school approach. Over the years it has become more oriented towards the modernization approach, where the state has withdrawn from a number of areas to make room for the private sector.

Sustainability: The Tanzanian government has a dualistic approach to the interaction between man and nature. In the protected areas the dominant perception of local community is based on a Malthusian approach. Outside the protected areas, the state approach has been based on a utilization perspective of human optimization of natural resources without specific regard to nature.

Nature conservation: Tanzania applies a classical nature conservation approach and more than a fifth of the country is classified as nature reserves. Tanzania has in recent years also applied a market-based approach to development and exploitation of the ecotourism. One of the most important tools in this relation is the taxation of ecotourism through charges for visits in nature reserves. The taxation of tourists is adjusted in a way that local tourists are charged far less than international tourists.

Ecotourism effects: The Tanzanian government has a pragmatic approach to tourism and focuses primarily on the economic opportunities of tourism. In addition, Tanzania has focused on job creation and the government has in connection with some of the tourist projects developed infrastructure with upgrading of roads.

For the Tanzanian government nature reserves and tourism have generally been seen as coherent. One of the factors for this cohesion could be linked to the first wave of tourists that came to the country who were highly interested in nature experiences. In particular the Northern nature reserves such as the Serengeti and the Ngorongoro crater were extremely popular attractions among tourists.

The Tanzanian government has a primary focus of combining ecotourism and nature conservation with a notion based on the classical nature conservation approach, which results in the government regulating towards local communities' exploitation of the nature reserves. In practice this means that local communities are excluded from the nature reserves, which results in the poor paying part of the price of nature conservation and ecotourism. Poor local communities has in several places criticized the government for focusing on nature conservation and tourist's experiences in nature at the expense of local development.

Sum up and reflections on the State

There is no doubt that Zimbabwe's government was ahead of its time when it implemented the CAMPFIRE initiatives as a sustainable development model, however, with the implementation of CAMPFIRE several problems occurred, which is also due to the government's changing a number of conditions that affected the poor and their development op-

portunities. Walter Jamieson et al. (2004) states that poorly planned and managed tourism can destroy ecological systems, raise the cost of living for local people and damage social and cultural traditions and lifestyles.

Zimbabwe's government institutions experienced several challenges in the implementation of CAMPFIRE as a model for sustainable development and one of the challenges has undoubtedly been high expectations for benefits related to CAMPFIRE and underestimation of cost, by all the actors involved. In addition, it should be mentioned that Zimbabwe around 2000 was hit by several crises at the same time and it had implications for CAMPFIRE.

The case for tourism development as a way of bringing about economic development in a region or country has generally been made in general terms with a focus on economic modernization and economic growth (Jamieson et al. 2004). Tanzania's approach to ecotourism look mainly towards international financing of the country's nature reserves, while at the same time having a nature conservation approach based on the pre-Brundtland notion about local communities as the problem.

The NGOs

The NGOs are a broad category ranging from community-based organizations to international organizations and from nature conservation NGOs to development NGOs. Due to the NGOs being so diverse it can be highly difficult to say something in general about the role of the NGOs in the development of ecotourism. The following three examples illustrate different aspects on the approach of the NGOs, from Zimbabwe where NGOs implement initiatives in a comprehensive environment and also introduce development initiatives as seen with CAMPFIRE, to very local initiatives in Ghana, to numerous local initiatives in South Africa.

CAMPFIRE

The NGOs played a significant role in Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE projects in several ways. The NGOs were instrumental in changing the legislation leading to decentralization based on sustainability. During the 1980s both development and nature conservation NGOs worked closely togeth-

er to form the CAMPFIRE program and both developmental and nature conservation NGOs were represented in the collaborative group. The NGOs played different roles in the collaborative group. The Zimbabwe Trust focuses on supporting specific CAMPFIRE projects with different forms of training, institution building and development of skills among community members (for more on this see Jensen 2007). In the following focus will be on nature conservation NGOs as they have played a significant role in CAMPFIRE.

Development: Point of departure for the nature conservation NGOs was modernization through protecting nature. In connection with CAMPFIRE this view was changed to nature conservation based on selective exploitation of nature.

Sustainability: The nature conservation NGOs have traditionally had a Malthusian approach to nature conservation, but during the CAMPFIRE process they changed to a sustainability approach in which sustainability is based on utilization as set out by nature's carrying capacity.

Nature conservation: The classical approach to the management of nature was modified with the introduction of CAMPFIRE shifting to neo-liberal approach. In an interview in the late 1990s, the then chairman for one of the nature conservation NGOs stated that the problem in relation to elephants was not that the species was threatened with extinction but that elephants endangered nature and that Zimbabwe had 40,000 elephants too many.

The nature conservation NGOs perceived the CAMPFIRE as a succes. The Zimbabwean NGOs not only supported the ideas and the realization of CAMPFIRE. The foundation of NGO involvement was a fundamental support to the notion of sustainable development, which could contribute to nature conservation as well as to poverty reduction. Additionally, there was an implicit notion that NGOs through education, training and information could contribute to the modernization of the local communities involved in CAMPFIRE. The nature conservation NGOs were in dialogue with other NGOs, as well as with the large tour operators and authorities; on the other hand, they were in essentially different positions and therefore weakly connected to the rural poor in CAMPFIRE areas.

Sum up and reflections on NGOs

NGOs are basically representatives of civil society and there is therefore an expectation that the NGOs and the poor have common interests. In the examples above, externally-based NGOs are involved in project activities with local communities. The international NGOs live in a different reality than the local community regarding the project activities.

The experiences with the NGOs' role in ecotourism activities are very different, but there are tendencies of local frustrations directed towards the NGOs, which is primarily due to the NGOs creating too high expectations to the tourism's positive effect. Another related criticism of NGOs is that they are perceived as naïve in relation to tourism development. As Pera and Maclaren states in Higham (2007: 62): "Behind the rhetoric of sustainability, progress and conservation lies a fundamental truth: like strip mining, cattle ranching, and other Western economic development strategies, ecotourism defines nature as a product to be bought and sold on the global marketplace."

Development NGOs are challenged by connecting to the market and the private sector; and many NGOs have critical perceptions of the private sector. Nature conservation NGOs are in a different situation. As illustrated by CAMPFIRE, NGOs are fighting for better protection of nature and an agenda supported by strong actors such as tour operators and the state. The result is that nature conservation NGOs have been successful and studies in CAMPFIRE areas have demonstrated the ability to conserve wildlife.

Conclusion

It is difficult to give a clear answer to whether ecotourism is good news for the poor. There are several challenges for the poor in benefitting from tourism. One factor is related to the poor being a weak actor compared to other actors. The poor have difficulties building alliances with other more powerful actors. The tour operators and tourists seem in most cases to be the powerful actors. Looking at the actors' approach to development is primarily based on the modernization approach and trickle-down to the poor. Job creation is obvious in relation with ecotourism, but it is doubtful how many of these jobs are offered to poor people in the local ar-

eas, as there are several examples of externally imported labour. Tourism can lead to infrastructure development. This is an unclear picture with examples of infrastructure upgrading, but there are also examples of no infrastructure activities. Also there are uncertainties regarding local cost and benefits in infrastructure projects.

Tourism can facilitate micro-entrepreneurship. There are several examples of local micro-entrepreneurship, but it is uncertain whether initiatives came from within local communities or were promoted by external actors with know-how and donations. Tourism allows the poor to leverage natural resources. Eco-tourism has contributed to better protection of species and wildlife and even investments in improving nature. Looking at sustainability issues – the majority of actors articulate a support to the Brundtland-approach as practicing a Malthusian approach to local communities' activities in Wildlands and state that local community's presence degraded ecotourism. Regarding nature conservation, most actors subscribe to either classical or neo-liberal approaches or hybrids of the two approaches. Neither of the two approaches provides space for local communities and traditional livelihood. The classical approach is based on the protection of nature without people based on regulation by governments. The neo-liberal approach is based on private sector, often tour operators' regulation and in most cases exclude local people. Ecotourism is not necessarily positive for the poor, but there are examples from the Global South of local communities that have benefitted from tourism. The main prerequisite for success stories related to ecotourism is: strong local institutions, good internal mechanisms of distribution of costs and benefits related to tourism and especially strong and equal relations with other operators in the tourism industry.

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Governing Mobility and Tourism

Introduction

Tourism has been identified by many as one of the fastest growing industries worldwide (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008), also bearing upon the capacity of generating economic growth in countries affected. The question is, however, how the effects of growth are distributed among the population in poorer parts of the world and how countries in these regions regard tourism. There are several themes which are relevant in discussing tourism in the Global South. One of the core themes is whether tourism should be analyzed from the point of view of tour operators or from the point of view of the people living in the places with tourist influx. This chapter discusses a number of themes important to analyze tourism in the Global South, based on a critical reading of a) Bolivia's tourism strategy with its focus on communities and b) literature related to communities and community-based or communitarian tourism. The chapter adopts different theoretical perspectives in analyzing what role tourism can play globally and locally. The analysis links to current policies within the Bolivian tourism strategy which aims to involve communities in tourism as a form of governance. The themes presented in Figure 1 are included for a comprehensive analysis of tourism and communities. Each of the themes presents an analytical perspective, which informs the discussion of tourism in Bolivia. A reading of the Bolivian tourism strategy opens up for finding an explanation of why the notion of 'community' is enhanced in the Bolivian tourism strategy and the analysis will show that 'community' and communitarian tourism can be seen as an instrument of governance.

Figure 1 A comprehensive framework for studying tourism and communities

Mobility

Tourism can be seen as a form of short-term migration from predominantly richer countries to poorer countries (Mowforth, Charlton & Munt, 2008) and can therefore be addressed as mobility leading to increased global inequality. "The prevailing free trade model which enriches the rich countries and their populations, allowing so many of them the wealth to travel to other corners of the earth, is the same model that is responsible for impoverishing rural areas of the Global South and for creating poverty-ridden urban slum areas" (Mowforth, Charlton & Munt, 2008: 5). Inequality becomes evident when analyzing the relationships between tourist-generating and tourist-receiving countries, aptly pointed out by Bauman in his analysis of 'tourists' and 'vagabonds' (Bauman 1998a). Being mobile is a sign of an individual's power since "access to global mobility has been raised to the topmost rank among stratifying factors" (Bauman 1998a:87). Class is as another important factor that is underscored in tourism: "The ability and legal right to travel became one of the criteria

by which class is defined and class privilege upheld" (Glick Schiller & Salazar 2013:196). Access to mobility defines whether you are a legal consumer or denied access to consumerism, hence Bauman's differentiation of tourists and vagabonds. The latter are not able to enter consumer society, as they "…can't and don't stay in a place as long as *they want*, they stay as long as *they are wanted*" (Bauman in Franklin 2003: 209).

> The tourists move because they find the world within their (global) reach irresistibly *attractive* – the vagabonds move because they find the world within their (local) reach unbearably *inhospitable*. The tourists travel because *they want to*; the vagabonds because *they have no other bearable choice*." (Bauman 1998a:92-93).

Related to the discussion of tourists and vagabonds, Bauman presents the notion of 'the locally tied' (Bauman 1998a: 88; 1998b). The 'locally tied' are barred from moving for different reasons, such as being unable to acquire passports and visas and/or lacking financial means to travel. This presents another perspective on inequality in a globalized world. "Globalization is a paradox; while it is very beneficial to a very few, it leaves out or marginalizes two-thirds of the world population" (Kavanagh as in Bauman 1998b:44)

Bauman's notions of 'tourists', vagabonds' and the 'locally tied' might be stereotypical and of less analytical value, but they address interesting issues within the discussion of mobility, namely, about *who* are mobile – and *why*. Refugees, for example, are forced to be mobile, because of a hostile locality where they live. Refugees are hindered in their travel by border control and nation states in North protecting their borders against a 'flow of migrants and refugees' (Lemberg-Pedersen, 2012).

There are factors that unite mobility no matter whether talking about tourists going for holiday, migrants going in search of work or refugees in search of safety (Salazar & Smart 2011). Everybody uses means of transportation, many cross borders and everybody has a set destination. While border crossing and control routines connected to this seem to be an inherent part of mobility flows, borders themselves are recent phenomena:

> "Physical movement is the natural, normal given of human social life; what is abnormal, changeable, and historically constructed is the idea that human societies need to construct political borders and institutions that define and constrain spatial mobility in particular, regularized ways, such that immobility becomes the norm" (Salazar & Smart 2011:v).

Immobility perceived as a norm is the nation state's view as criticized by Malkki (1992) in her use of the notion 'sedentarism' and roots. Glick Shiller and Salazar (2013) suggest that we alter the analysis to not "think about mobility like a nation state". (Glick Shiller & Salazar 2013:193) This also includes *no*t regarding communities (understood as people confined to a place) as something given. Thus the argument here is that within much literature there is a perception of communities in areas of 'tourist destinations' as tied to a place and as receivers of benefits of tourism (Simpson 2008). People on the move are the tourists, not the members of communities (who are perceived as 'locally tied').

Destinations in the Global South

When tourists (or vagabonds) travel they are doing this with the purpose of reaching a destination. Destinations are widely studied in tourism studies. There have been critical comments on the overt focus on destinations: "(Tourism) studies have generally been restricted to a vision of tourism as a series of discrete, localized events, where destinations, seen as bounded localities, are subject to external forces producing impacts, where tourism is a series of discrete, enumerated occurrences of travel, arrival, activity, purchase, departure, and where the tourist is seen as another grim incarnation of individualized 'Rational Economic Man' forever maximizing his solid male gains'"(Franklin & Crang 2001:6). Tourism is a dramatically expanding sector worldwide, and as much of tourism research is sponsored by industrial actors, its analytical departures "tend to internalize industry-led priorities and perspectives" (ibid.) As a consequence of a general rise in tourism, tourists now also arrive to the Global South in a larger number, as discussed elsewhere in this anthology.

There are different definitions of destinations in the Global South, and

there have been attempts to develop a conceptual model of competitive destination based on the realities of the Global South. "The adaptation of such a framework requires a deep understanding of the fundamental differences between developed and impoverished destinations, which can be achieved by exploring the views of the relevant stakeholders, especially views from the stakeholders in impoverished destinations" (Zhao & Ritchie 2007: 25). The focus on frameworks and the emphasis on the 'destination' as a concept are ways of alienating the communities which become objectified assets or elements of a tourism destination.

A recent appeal of destinations in the Global South is connected to travellers' philanthropy; i.e. when altruistic western tourists "would love to visit impoverished destinations and volunteer to help the poor" (Zhao & Ritchie 2007:26).The notion of travellers' philanthropy is Western-centric: it is the tourist and his/her desire to 'help' impoverished people, that is in focus – not the needs of the people that tourists set out trying to help as discussed by Jänis and Timonen (this volume). This resembles the ideas behind modernization paradigm discussed within development studies (Parpart & Veltmeyer 2004); there was a general (Western) understanding of the benefits of implementation of industrialization in the Global South. If industrialization took on, it would first and foremost benefit the factory owners, but eventually create a 'trickle-down effect' which would benefit the poorest of the poor. Several scholars within development studies revealed that this hypothesized effect rarely occurs (Parpart and Veltmeyer 2005) and the poor in the Global South did not benefit from modernization/industrialization. As a result of this, the focus of development and policy studies has shifted to bottom-up initiatives, where 'participation' and 'empowerment' came into focus (Friedman 1992; Chambers 2012). This also implies working from a community level as opposed to a government/state level. However 'community' is not a fixed concept, but has a number of meanings and forms (Creed 2006). These are contextualized and deconstructed below.

Community

Community is an often used but rarely defined concept. Telfer & Sharpley (2008:117) list how the word is used by a number of scholars. It is some-

thing which represents shared sentiments (Bauman 2001, Creed, 2006). Another often used descriptor of 'community' is related to territory and yet another relates to longing (and belonging) to a community from a moral standpoint.

A deconstruction of the idea of the 'community' ranges from spatially fixed understandings and preconceptions of 'a coherent community' to more anthropological notion of 'villages' (Harris 2011). The latter is more suited to grasp the social complexity in each village addressing dynamic relationships among inhabitants and their relations both inside and outside the geographical location. A closer study could also unfold the patterns of mobility and inward/outward flows of people. Tourists come to a destination (village), but villagers also travel away from the village for different reasons (Glick Shiller & Salazar 2013). This may create new dynamics and power relations that cannot necessarily be comprehended from a community-based analysis which puts emphasis on place-boundedness. On the other hand the focus on 'village–as-community' was essential for anthropology in the 1950's and 60's, especially within the Chicago School, where communities were in the center of study. As a consequence a 'community study method' was developed "in which the community (usually a village) became both object and sample for the researcher" (Creed 2006: 29).

Nikolas Rose presents yet another understanding of community, claiming that it is a form of governance (Rose 1999). The contemporary use of 'community' occupies a space between state, markets and individuals. "[Rose] suggests that this concept of community has been made technical through expert discourses and professional vocations evident in 'community development programs' run by 'community development officers', protected by 'community policing', and analyzed by sociologists pursuing 'community studies'. Rendered technical, community can become means of governance" (Rose 1999:176-77 as in Creed 2006: 43)

'Community' can thus be understood in (at least) four ways: As a territorial location, as a sentiment of longing and belonging, as an entity in a policy division of 'scales' in opposition to a state level, and as a form of governance – or as a combination of these. Especially the analytical use of community as a tool of governance is relevant for the discussion in this chapter, as will be shown in the analysis of Bolivia's tourism strategy.

Community-based Tourism

Despite acknowledging the collective agency of communities, they might not be invited to participate in planning processes. As Simpson (2008:2) states: "involvement of the community may not only prove difficult but may also cause problems in achieving the goal of benefit delivery, aggravating and creating internal conflicts and jealousies, and creating unrealistic expectations". The 'top-down' approach to communities as 'beneficiaries' is an indicator of power relations where communities are not power holders (Rowlands 1997). This can be contrasted to the notion of community participation, put forward in Robert Chambers' approach to develop rural areas (Participatory Rural Appraisal). Here the general idea was to give villagers voice: "It was absolutely critical not only that 'the voices of the poor' gave new perspectives to the powerful, but that the powerful reflected on what these perspectives meant for their own behavior, both individually and collectively" (Gaventa 2011:71).

In a critical essay on community-based tourism, Simpson poses the question: "How essential is community participation, ownership or control to the delivery of benefits to the community from a tourism initiative?" (Simpson 2008:2). However, Simpson's suggested framework addressing this question; 'Community Benefit Tourism Initiatives' (CBTI), assign little priority to participation. Simpson underscores this by pointing out that CBTI is different from Community *Based* Tourism, because the latter emphasizes "ownership, management and/or control of tourism projects" (Simpson 2008:2). CBTI is operating on the notion of 'stakeholders', where communities are seen as one of these. However, a tourism project involving a local community (depending on the type of tourism project), creates changes on many levels and in the lives of members of the community.

> "Should a tourism initiative start to deliver benefits to a community, these very benefits may generate problems: jealousies can be created concerning wealth and assets and conflicts of territory both within a community and between communities. A community rarely acts as a single unified entity and seldom speaks with one voice, and when a community becomes involved in a tourism initiative internal division may occur as a result" (Simpson 2008:11).

By establishing models and flowcharts for decisions and actions among stakeholders and inventorying best practices (Simpson 2008, Hall 2007) without a thorough investigation of the communities in question, the result will inevitably be a superficial analysis on a given case. Simpson's suggestion to introduce participatory approaches (Simpson 2008: 11) in order to achieve inclusion of actors at community level may be one solution to addressing the missing link between the two notions 'destination' and 'community'. On the other hand Simpson also concludes that: "perhaps perversely, it is feasible that potential benefits to communities can be diminished or undermined where communities are heavily involved in tourism initiatives" (Simpson 2008:13). The core question here is 'who is in power to define': "'Whose reality counts' is the critical question for development, and the answer is found in the self-articulated reality of the marginalized and dispossessed" (Gaventa 2011:68).

There have been examples of communities taking active part in deciding how tourism should be managed. The island of Taquile in Lake Titicaca, Peru is one of these examples. For many years the islanders were managing access of tourists by controlling the transportation by boat to the island. The villages were deciding among themselves who should offer which service to the tourists and income was shared on an equal basis. However, when the Fujimori government introduced anti-monopoly laws, this also affected the islanders and bigger tour operators were given legal access to transport tourists to the island, damaging control over the amount of tourists arriving to the island and affecting the income from tourist activities for the islanders (Mitchel & Reid 2001).

Responsibility

As mentioned above some communities are trying to be in charge of the tourism development in their area. This is not always possible since nation states and international tour operators may have other interests in tourism development than communities. Consequently, power becomes an important concept when discussing responsibility: "who makes the decisions will determine, at least in part, who are the beneficiaries" (Mowforth, Charlton & Munth 2008:3). Responsibility can be discussed in terms of who gains what when talking about tourism, especially in

relation to countries in the Global South (Mowforth, Charlton & Munt 2008). Bauman defines a new type of society emerging from freetrade and consumerism and emphasizes that liquid modernity is a prerequisite for mobility of the affluent populations of the world's population (Franklin 2003). Tourism is highly influenced by neo-liberalist trade models, consumerism and tourist flows from richer to poorer countries. This is reflected in policies: "The private sector may be the best placed to identify opportunities, realize the potential of a destination, drive forward the development of product and adopt a range of highly effective responsibilities to communities" (Simpson 2008:9-10).

Responsibility in tourism leads to a discussion of equality and equity. As stated above in several studies (Franklin 2003, Bauman 1998a, 1998b, Mowforth et al. 2008, Glick-Schiller & Salazar 2013) inequality is prevalent in tourism development in many countries in the Global South, partly because tourism development in these countries is not based on community control of projects (Höckert 2011). Community control can be enforced by different actors - first and foremost inhabitants of a specific locality, but community is not always linked to a specific locality (Balslev-Clausen, this volume). The issues of community, responsibility and equality are relevant when discussing Bolivia's tourism strategy where community involvement is highly enhanced. Bolivia has gone through a transformation process recently where state policies have emphasized a perceived 'pluri-national' state including the many different ethnic groups. New policies and strategies are introduced in many sectors of society, among these; tourism.

The Bolivian Tourism Strategy

The tourism sector in Bolivia is very small. Compared to neighboring countries, visitor numbers are considerably lower, which is also addressed by the tourism plan. Following from the small number of tourist arrivals, the income from tourism is equally low. The tourists arriving to Bolivia are mostly individual travelers, often young people, who do not spend a lot of money in the country. On the other hand the Bolivian tourism infrastructure is not developed, so attracting bigger groups of tourists is difficult. The country has developed a tourism plan for 2012-16, where

there is great emphasis on sustainability and communitarianism. Tourists' goal for travelling has altered from 'leisure' to an increased desire to understand culture and lifestyles of the countries visited.

Acknowledging these emergent market preferences, the Bolivian Tourism Strategy [Plan Nacional de Turismo 2012-2016] puts great emphasis on communities and communitarian tourism or 'economía social communitaria', (Cox Arranibar 2009:21). Bolivia has, together with other Latin American countries established an alternative to the 'Washington Consensus' called 'Alba[1]' (Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua among others). Whereas the Washington Consensus value free trade and neoliberal policies, the Alba agreement is highlighting regional integration and trade among its members. Furthermore, Bolivian government policies are funded on the concept 'Vivir Bien'[2] (living well together/ wellbeing), which emphasizes human development more than economic development much in line with Amartya Sen's ideas (Sen 1999, Artaraz & Calestani 2013). Vivir Bien was adopted in the 2009 Constitution and it underscores not only wellbeing in each individual, but also reciprocity among individuals and groups and in relation to Nature (see also Jamal et al.'s chapter on the One Heath paradigm in this volume). Vivir Bien can be understood as a reaction against a societal form that was created by the neoliberal policies implemented in Latin America during the 1980s, which had led to huge social costs and increased poverty among the majority of the population (Artaraz & Calestani 2013; Haarstad & Andersson 2009). Social and political movements rejected the neoliberal agenda in Bolivia and indigenous people started to question the (corrupt) political system of the country.

Bolivia has defined itself as a pluri-national state and has a defined policy to break with former political structures and to introduce sustainable policies based on communities and nature. The Bolivian constitution puts emphasis on concepts like wellbeing (vivir bien) and a harmonious co-existence with Nature (Pacha Mama) (Plan Turismo Nacional 2012-16:

1 *Alianza Bolivariana para los pueblos de nuestra America*

2 *Vivir Bien is idealistically including all of the people living in Bolivia. It is drafted by social movements highly critical of neoliberal capitalist society and in primarily building on Aymara world views, which might not necessarily be shared by all Bolivians. There is for example a strong emphasis on collective values (as opposed to individual values) and recently there has been public debate on this subject in Bolivia (Artara & Calestani 2013)*

56)[3], thus alienating its discourse from a development discourse of Eurocentric background (Ziai 2013). For the first time in the country's history, indigenous people are heavily represented in the national parliament and the now ratified Vivir Bien is based on indigenous values. Communitarian tourism is acknowledged as an opportunity in line with the new development strategy, as expressed in the following quote from Vice-minister of Decolonization, Felix Cardenas:

> "Communitarian tourism' will involve an equal exchange between locals and tourists. Bolivia will not partake in 'consumerist tourism' (beaches, casinos etc.) but rather 'good-conscience tourism' or 'eco-tourism'. Bolivia can sell landscapes, history and identity. Communities are important in this" (Bolivian Express: Tourism and sustainable development, March 14th 2013:3)

The present tourism plan presents an objective of including the communities, municipalities and departments in the country as well as the nation state in the development of tourism at large. 314 out of 327 indigenous communities in Bolivia have opted for tourism as development priority (Zorn and Farthing 2007). There is an idea of differentiating Bolivia's touristic appeal from the neighboring countries with significantly larger tourism sector (Argentina, Brazil and Peru). However Bolivia is facing difficulties in attracting tourists due to lacking infrastructure, poor sanitation in certain (rural) areas, small numbers of mid-market hotels etc. The country's tourism authorities try to turn this into an advantage for attracting a particular type of tourist. Furthermore the reciprocity that lies in communitarianism - and Vivir Bien - is emphasized for the tourists who in Bolivia will have a different experience in being involved in daily life of people living in tourist destination areas.

"There are perverse models, such as Cuzco, where you see an

3 *" Esta Ley general tiene por objeto normar, difundir, promover, incentivar y fomenter la actividad productive del sector turístico en general, y de base comunitaria en particular, para lograr el desarollo económico indígena originario campesino, comunidades Interculturales y Afro-bolivianos, así como el desarollo municipal, regional, departamental y nacional bajo los preceptos y disposiciones de la Constitución Politica del Estado, así como bajo el principio del respeto al medio ambiente, identidades y valores culturales" (Plan Nacional de Turismo 2012-16: 57).*

> almost cinematographic exposition of who the people are. We think people want to come to Bolivia to know communities as they really are. Another reason they come is that they want to see a country under construction. Who we are, is still being defined" (Marko Machiaco Bankovic, Deputy Minister of Tourism in Bolivian Express: Tourism and sustainable development, March 14th 2013:3)

The Bolivian government wants to stress interaction between locals and tourists (Plan Nacional de Turismo). The policies in the tourism strategy point to new objectives in tourism based on equality.

Governance

It is claimed that an efficient state administration is increased by "simplifying and homogenizing the local context so as to make it legible to the state" (Creed 2006:9). The reforms of the 1990s in Bolivia, entailing the reform of popular participation in particular (a decentralization reform creating new municipalities throughout the country) were introducing new governance strategies by the Bolivian state, policies that the current government is continuing. By including the word 'communitaria' (communitarian) in the tourism strategy, the Bolivian government is using the language of community in order to get consent from its people in the communities (Creed 2006:8).

The 'community' invokes positive sentiments in people (Bauman 2001, Cornwall 2007) and "the fact that communities carry such emotions while remaining subordinate to the state makes them particularly useful as a mechanism of governance" (Creed 2006:8). The community focus in the Bolivian Tourism Strategy is including new geographical territory (rural areas) and new subjects (inhabitants of rural villages) by invoking positive sentiments of belonging to both the nation-state as well as to the community - in areas basically ignored by the state for longer periods of time (Andersson & Christensen 2012). The use of 'community-related expressions can thus be seen as a way of making 'Vivir Bien' policies acceptable both for rural communities, the targeted areas of increased tourism in the Plan Nacional de Turismo, and for people living in big cities.

Emphasis on communitarian thoughts, equality and villages in the Bolivian Tourism Strategy is seen as a rupture with 'Western' tourism dominated by inequality and capitalism (Plan Nacional de Turismo). However, in focusing so much on the perceived equality found in villages/communities in Bolivia, the policy risks to be an expression of what others have called 'peasant essentialism' which is constructed around "the solidarities, reciprocities and egalitarianism of a (village) community, and commitment to the values of life based on household and community, kin and locale" (Creed 2006:29).

The need for an emphasis on peasant villages, however, is an instrument of inclusion and governance for the Bolivian State and a response to earlier exclusion policies from an elitist state. This is especially true for areas, which are located far away from fertile lands and established haciendas. The reforms of the 1990s were tools to include marginalized people in the state and can thus be seen as governmentality as argued by Rose (1999). The policies of the 1990s were implemented by an elite state pressurized by foreign donors and by an insecure state economy (structural adjustment programs), but also by international organizations focusing on rights, and in Bolivia's case: indigenous rights.

To sum up, current policies like Alba and Vivir bien and the tourism strategy are following earlier policies of governance using biopolitics as governance. The 'values and way of life based on household and community, kin and locale' (Creed op.cit.) is more than an emphasis of something 'lost' and of values cherished by an urban elite (which they 'long' for). Instead, it becomes a political tool to enforce governance based on state priorities and to heighten participation and inclusion in the state seen from the rural population's point of view. The tourists contribute to this by coming to Bolivia and 'fulfill their role as tourists'. It can be argued that the main purpose of the Bolivian tourism strategy is not to 'please' tourists, but to be an instrument of governance including (and governing) hitherto marginalized areas and people living there. Rose calls the use of 'community' contemporarily a 'third space' between state/market and individuals (Rose 1999). 'Community' becomes a means of governance as administrators and researchers pick up on this term and thus becomes a political zone where new political status is given to indigenous authorities (Creed 2006:43). This is most certainly the case with the popular participation reform and other reforms of the 1990s. This trend is continued

in current government policy and tourism strategy and its emphasis on communitarianism and wellbeing targeted at rural villages and areas.

Conclusion

Tourism is changing as a consequence of increased global mobilities and exchange between wealthier populations in North and South. There is a desire to consume leisure and this is often done by exploring out-of-the-ordinary destinations, increasingly located in countries in the Global South. Acknowledging the economic benefits of tourism, southern states are interested in attracting wealthy tourists, albeit they pursue different strategies. More recent strategies emphasize the appeal of 'communities' in tourism – a notion that invokes positive associations as something to long for and to explore. The notion of 'community' has been discussed in this chapter as something which is not 'given' and which can be used for different purposes. For instance, tour operators use it for marketing purposes; to attract customers by emphasizing the possibility to engage with local people living in the tourist destinations or the opportunity to 'help' these people. This help is often framed within a neo-colonialist modernization paradigm, which aims to impose development on people living in tourist destinations – with or without their active participation. It can be discussed how 'responsibility' is being perceived by tour operators wanting to establish themselves in new areas. Some regard the current development trajectories in many Global South countries as a form of neo-colonialism because there is often very little recognition of local residents' goals and wishes. This chapter analyzed Bolivia's tourism strategy as example of emergent governmental discourse in the Global South, which dissociates itself from dominating capitalist consumer values. The analysis demonstrated how the Bolivian state is exercising governmentality in its tourism strategy, so as to include areas such as rural villages and their population. Attracting tourists and involving communities in the tourism industry is thus one of several governmentality strategies which are used by Bolivian administrators, national and regional politicians. An emphasis on communitarianism and wellbeing speaks to values practiced in rural areas for centuries and thus the tourism strategy may be one instrument (among many) to create a coherent Bolivian state.

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Health and Sustainable Development: New Directions Forward

Introduction

Environmental justice and social justice issues are increasingly dominating the global agenda of sustainable development. The Rio+20 "Future We Want" Outcome Document that was delivered to more than 100 heads of state and governments, acknowledged clearly in Point 1.4 within the section on "Our Common Vision" the need for inclusive and equitable economic growth, as well as equitable social development and poverty alleviation:

> We recognize that poverty eradication, changing unsustainable and promoting sustainable patterns of consumption and production and protecting and managing the natural resource base of economic and social development are the overarching objectives of and essential requirements for sustainable development. We also reaffirm the need to achieve sustainable development by promoting sustained, inclusive and equitable economic growth, creating greater opportunities for all, reducing inequalities, raising basic standards of living, fostering equitable social development and inclusion, and promoting integrated and sustainable management of natural resources and ecosystems that supports, inter alia, economic, social and human development while facilitating ecosystem conserva-

tion, regeneration and restoration and resilience in the face of new and emerging challenges.[1]

Continued concerns about planetary sustainability have resulted in revisions and iterations of this concept, especially with increased recognition of the close link between poverty and environmental degradation. However, critics of sustainable development and sustainable tourism (e.g., Peterson, 1997), shed doubt on the ability of current conceptualizations of these terms to address global sustainability challenges. New approaches to sustainable development and sustainable tourism continue to be called for that can more effectively address environmental and social-cultural justice issues, empower local communities and build capacity to tackle climate change, poverty and other sustainability challenges (McKibben, 2007).

This chapter takes up where existing critiques of sustainable development and sustainable tourism have left off. Our primary aim is to present several important criticisms that have been under-explored in tourism studies and argue for a new metaphor, a new set of perspectives and values, that does justice to the diverse populations and the interrelated local-global context of tourism development. Specifically, we call for a paradigm shift to a health-based approach to sustainable development and tourism that is holistic and integrated, capable of addressing tangible and intangible aspects such as human-environmental relationship, notions of care and respect. The next section addresses a range of critiques related to sustainable development and sustainable tourism, and argues that even recent attempts to revise sustainable development such as by Griggs et al. (2013 a,b) appear to be unable to extricate themselves from the challenges identified. This indicates the need for a new or revised paradigm for sustainable development; one that is better grounded in the social-cultural context and attends to intangible as well as tangible dimensions and values. Building on existing critiques, including (eco)feminist critiques as well as newly emerging initiatives and revision attempts, we argue for a holistic health-based metaphor to guide local-global sustainability and

1 *http://www.earthsummit2012.org/resources/useful-resources/1157-the-future-we-want-rio20-outcome-document. CONF.216/L.1* Rio de Janeiro, Brazil June 20–22, 2012 (Document edited June 22, 2012].*

tourism development. Indeed, there are studies that address health in leisure and outdoor recreation and tourism (e.g., Salis et al., 2006) but, as argued below, what is required is an integrated, holistic approach to planetary, human and ecosystem health; one that addresses the interdependencies and interrelationships within and between ecosystems and human social systems. We forward a "One Health" approach (see further below) to illustrate such an integrated health-based paradigm. Evolving from a developing world, grass roots, micro-level perspective, it enables consideration of "other" values and perspectives that embrace not only tangible, but also intangible considerations, such as human-environmental relationships, animal welfare ethics, and traditional knowledge.

Sustainable Development and Sustainable Tourism Critiques

Critiques of sustainable development, published since the release of the Brundtland Commission's report Our Common Future (WCED, 1987), have been strong and sustained (e.g., Hajer, 1995: Peterson, 1997). The growing urgency of climate change, along with continued environmental degradation, pollution, natural resource depletion, social inequities and population growth (to name a few challenges), has led to numerous efforts to revise and reposition sustainable development. A revision to the Brundtland Commission's globally institutionalized definition of sustainable development was proposed recently in the journal *Nature* along with an article in *The Anthropocene* journal by Griggs et al. (2013 a, b). The authors stated that, overall, "humanity is the prime driver of change on a global scale" and argued that extending the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) separately from the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs; see Griggs et al., 2013 a, b) was not good enough: sustainable development in the Anthropocene must put the Earth's life support systems alongside the key goals of the (updated) MDGs, i.e., planetary support and poverty alleviation (a key focus of the MDGs).[2] Drawing on a complex

2 *The Anthropocene began sometime around the Industrial Revolution in Europe, as new and improved ways of increasing environmental benefits became available. Recent acceleration (1950 onwards) attributed to consumption brought on by affluence and technology overtook population as the greater driver of change. See: http://www.igbp.net/news/features/features/anthropoceneanepochofourmaking.5.1081640c135c7c04eb480001082.html. Accessed April 8, 2012. See also Griggs et al. (2013b).*

systems approach, they offer a redefinition of sustainable development (see quote above) and a "unified framework" containing a new "paradigm" where economy and society are nested within Earth's life support systems, and where environmental health and poverty alleviation are viewed as interrelated twin priorities. Combining the MDGs with global environmental targets based on science and international agreements currently in place, they propose six SDGs along with provisional targets for 2030:

- Thriving lives and livelihoods
- Sustainable food security
- Sustainable water security
- Universal clean energy
- Healthy and productive ecosystems
- Governance for sustainable societies

The revisions that Griggs et al. propose are timely and offer useful directions for re-framing sustainable development in the Anthropocene. Major social concerns and objectives such as poverty alleviation are evident in the focus on sustainable livelihoods, food and water security, governance, "healthy" ecosystems, etc. Their proposed revision of sustainable development dovetails well with the revision of the MDGs, where new goals have been set to continue when the current ones expire in 2015. The updated MDGs include the following: End poverty and hunger; Universal education; Gender equality; Health/Environmental sustainability; Global partnership (http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/beyond2015-overview.shtml, Accessed April 14, 2014). Note that "health" and poverty alleviation are key items in both Grigg et al.'s revisions (specifically, "healthy" ecosystems), and in the revised MDGs. However, their thoughtful, urgent re-crafting has not challenged the problems that many prior critiques had identified. For instance:

(i) Androcentric and Eurocentric perspectives: Critics argue that the discourse of sustainable development is male-centered and Eurocentric, embedded in modernist and Enlightenment values that reflect Francis Bacon's vision of "progress"; human progress measured in terms of economic growth, aided by scientific discoveries being turned into technologies to dominate and subject Nature (Hajer, 1995; Harvey, 1998; Pe-

terson, 1997). Griggs et al. (2013 a, b) appear to favor a view based on ecological modernization in which scientific knowledge is the dominant discourse of sustainable development (relying on science to the exclusion of all other knowledge claims). The concern here is not science *per se* but that it is a powerful narrative that privileges essentialist views, abstract notions of rights and universal principles; the post-positivism of the scientific method cannot address the particular and the personal, the voice of the "other". Measurable indicators and the scientific method eschewed intangible aspects such as human-environmental relationships and other hard to measure cultural aspects (Dryzek, 1997; Heidegger, 1977; Luke, 1997). Phallogocentrism and patriarchy established a strong foothold historically as the men of science and modern capitalism took over. The domination of nature and women became the norm, the "death of nature" had arrived (Merchant, 2001: 281, cited in Torgé 2007: 39; see also Merchant, 1980: Warren 1997). Such critiques have been immensely important in re-framing the role of women in relation to international development, conservation, and poverty alleviation (see, for example, Shiva, 1988), but have been poorly addressed in sustainable tourism development and ecotourism (cf. Torgé 2007).

(ii) Neoliberal exclusions: Situating "economy" at the core of the revised framework that Griggs et al. (2013 a, b) proposed exacerbates the problem of sustainable development, as managerial discourses intersect with the dominant scientific narrative to efficiently "manage" people and planetary support systems through a globalized neoliberalism (see various critiques for support of this claim, e.g., Hajer, 1995; Harvey, 1997; Luke 1997). As ecofeminist Vandana Shiva describes, "economic globalization as we are seeing it unfold is not a process of ever widening circles of inclusion. It is a process of ascending hierarchies that concentrate power and exclude people from participating in the political and economic life of their societies" (Shiva, 1997: 2). She goes on to state that ecological feminism "sees in the current trend the ultimate concentration of capitalist patriarchy and its violence against nature and women" (p. 4).

In light of the historical-political context outlined briefly above (see supporting references cited), it is not surprising to see how little attention has been paid to relationships between humans, animals and the biophysical world they inhabit. Under these conditions, meaningful re-

lationships between human labor, economic welfare and the non-human world is subjugated to commodification and instrumental uses of nature and culture. The critiques noted above lend support for incorporating such dimensions into a revised framework of sustainable development. A robust paradigm would attend to the inclusion of local and traditional knowledge, i.e., incorporating "situated knowledges" (Haraway, 1988), rather than privileging scientific and managerialist discourses, as well as the inclusion of non-human stakeholders (e.g., animals). It would also attend to ecofeminist concerns about the role of women in relation to "Nature" and development, and ensure that feminine values that generally tend to be eschewed by dominant modernist and scientific discourses (e.g., emotion, care, health, and gendered perspectives) are incorporated into the sustainable development agenda.

But what would such a revised paradigm of sustainable development look like? And would it help address the multitude of critiques and omissions in the related domain of sustainable tourism development (see Hunter, 1995)? What new revisions and movements in the sustainable tourism literature might help to further inform the kinds of shifts being proposed above? We explore some of these issues below before going on to propose an alternative approach that offers the potential of shifting the current paradigm of sustainable development and sustainable tourism to a "healthier" one.

Sustainable Tourism Development: Parallel Discourses

The landmark resolution "Promotion of ecotourism for poverty eradication and environment protection" adopted by the *United Nations General Assembly (21 December 2012)* acknowledges sustainable tourism and ecotourism "*as key in the fight against poverty, the protection of the environment and the promotion of sustainable development….*" The resolution further recognizes that "ecotourism creates significant opportunities for the conservation, protection and sustainable use of biodiversity and of natural areas by encouraging local and indigenous communities in host countries and tourists alike to preserve and respect the natural and cultural heritage."[3]

3 *http://media.unwto.org/en/press-release/2013-01-03/un-general-assembly-ecotourism-key-eradicating-poverty-and-protecting-envir*

While themes such as poverty alleviation and ecotourism unite various UN goals related to sustainable development, it is important to note that the concept of sustainable tourism as forwarded by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) has also raised concern from a number of tourism scholars, as described below.[4] They offer further insights and support for revising the core notion of sustainable development that influenced the UNWTO's formulation of sustainable tourism development (see Hunter, 1995). For instance:

i) Criticism of sustainable tourism also reflects strong concern about the Enlightenment driven notions of progress and the domination of rationality and scientific knowledge that legitimize positivistic research approaches and structure discourses of sustainable tourism that favor macro-level, external interests and institutions (see, for example, Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; Sharpley and Telfer, 2008).

ii) Discourses of ecological modernization have, until recently, eschewed traditional knowledge, and continue to poorly address intangible values and human-environmental relationships (see Nielsen and Wilson, 2012). Issues of biopiracy and the exploitation of indigenous knowledge in the context of globalized free trade and international development have been well-documented by ecofeminists and environmental activists such as Vandana Shiva (Salleh, 1998; Shiva 1997, 1999). Holden (2003) identifies lack of attention in tourism studies to the intrinsic value of nature, wilderness, etc. (see also Fennell, 2014). Font and Harris (2004) observe the pau-

4 *As defined by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (1994): Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems (p. 30).*

city of other than natural indicators (e.g., social indicators) in sustainability-oriented certification schemes.

iii) A growing range of feminist and postcolonial critiques continue to challenge and bring attention the Eurocentrism, masculinism and managerialism in tourism research and practice (Aitchison, 2005; Mkono, 2011; Swain and Swain, 2004; Veijola and Jokinen, 2004). Postmodern and poststructural turns have helped to facilitate new theoretical sensitivities to address inequities in economic structures and unequal power relationships (see Scheyvens, 1999; West and Carrier, 2004; West, Igoe and Brockington, 2006). Tucker and Boonabana (2012), for instance, provide a succinct overview of feminism in relation to gender and development, using interpretive methods and performativity as a theoretical lens to examine fluid power relationships and gendered involvement in rural tourism development.

Critical perspectives, such as noted above, offer the opportunity to identify and redress key omissions (like the loss of the intangible cultural and heritage relationships with land and nature), develop counter discourses to domination, and further inform alternative theorizing and methodologies that can usefully inform sustainable tourism development, such as of political ecology, as well as theory building on development justice and ethics (see Smith, 1999; Smith and Duffy 2003; Jamal and Camargo, 2014; Shiva, 1988; Salleh,1984). They also offer valuable insights for better situating the gendered, diverse body in development and tourism, re-introducing intangibles such as emotions (e.g., love, concern, care, friendship—see Torgé, 2007). Overall, they point to the need for new paradigms and new development approaches to better facilitate the well-being of the human and non-human world. A closer look below at some emerging initiatives and directions in sustainable tourism research and policy offers us some helpful guidance towards framing a new discourse to guide sustainable (tourism) development from a more feminine perspective.

Health and Sustainable Development: A New Paradigm

This section argues for a new *health*-based paradigm for sustainable development and tourism that is embodied and situated in relationships that facilitate the health and well-being of humans, animals, and the environments they are embedded within. Health offers a valuable metaphor to explore and understand the interrelatedness of ecological, social and economic systems, and adopting an integrated, holistic approach has become increasingly important in a globalized stage where global drivers of mobilities involving work, leisure and other movements such as those of climate refugees, diasporic migrations, etc., are adding immense complexity to natural resource conservation and social sustainability. A brief overview of several research areas and initiatives illustrate the value of adopting a holistic, integrated health metaphor and approach for guiding sustainable development and tourism:

(i) Leisure and recreational health

A growing base of leisure and recreation research is bringing attention to both visitor and resident health and well-being. Biophilic design and attention restoration theory, for instance, addresses the importance of health and wellness benefits through outdoor recreation and participation in natural environments (e.g., public parks, greenways and protected areas like municipal, state and national parks) (see Louv, 2011). These natural recreational areas contribute not only to physical health but also social and psychological well-being by promoting interaction and gathering in public spaces, which nurtures social support and civic agency. Parks and protected areas also contribute to community health and ecosystem sustainability (e.g., protecting large watersheds that also supply drinking water). Environmental conservation and individual/societal well-being enabled by outdoor recreational and civic public spaces, therefore, relate closely to environmental and social justice issues such as water pollution and landfill location, equitable access to recreational areas for low income, minority and diverse populations, and for people with disabilities.

While the high priority accorded to environmental conservation is evident in sustainable development and sustainable tourism (see WCED, 1987; UNWTO, 1994), the importance of attending to the highly interrelated dimension of local-level social and community needs was empha-

sized early in the context of responsible tourism and in sustainable tourism by others (see Bramwell and Lane, 1993; also see Sharpley and Telfer, 2008, 2014; Jamal, Camargo and Wilson, 2013, for an overview). Article 3 in the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics is titled "Tourism, a factor in sustainable development" and reflects the importance of resource sustainability and conservation, while Article 5 entitled "Tourism, a beneficial activity for host countries and communities" elaborates on local populations. Among other items, Article 5 mentions equitable sharing of tourism's economic, social and cultural benefits, job creation, and applying tourism policies "to help to raise the standard of living of the populations of the regions visited" (UNWTO, 2014). However, little to nothing is said in terms of health in relation to animals, local populations or visitors. The risk of transmission of diseases from livestock or wildlife to humans (both locals and visitors), for instance, has risen greatly with increased travel and tourism mobilities regionally and globally, with visitors undertaking activities that range from urban to nature-based (e.g. ecotourism in protected areas) and rural tourism (e.g., volunteer tourism, agricultural, organic, fair trade and farm tourism). The critiques of modernity, Enlightenment notions of progress and development, and the (eco)feminist concerns outlined earlier in the chapter in relation to women, nature, land and sustainability, also support the need to pay greater attention to human-environmental relationships. While research and practice has addressed socioeconomic issues such as related to sustainable livelihoods and community capacity building, human-environmental relationships and the domain of animals *per se* continue to receive very poor attention in tourism development research and policy.

(ii) Health for animals

Several scholars in sustainable tourism have pointed out the anthropocentrism inherent in the treatment of the non-human world in tourism studies (e.g., Holden, 1999) as well as the utilitarianism that drives the tourism industry and policy makers in tourism development (e.g., Smith and Duffy, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Fennell (2014) provides a comprehensive discussion on the omission of animals in discussion of tourism development and policy. Regarding the UNWTO's Global Code of Ethics, he notes that missing "almost entirely from the discussion on

environment is any specific reference to animals, apart from the need to preserve endangered species of wildlife". In addition to their role in wildlife tourism and other forms of nature-based tourism, humans and animals are intricately related in numerous other tourism-related activities. As he states:

> Millions of animals, annually, play a pivotal role as facilitators of often tourism-related human entertainment and pleasure. Animals are made to compete against each other in racing and fighting contests (among other events). As sources of food, animals provide not only sustenance, but also value in pleasure (as in food tourism). Animal workers perform a wide range of duties that help facilitate the needs of tourists in search of novel experiences in unique settings (e.g., carriers). And nature-based tourists pursue an enormous number and variety of species as hunters, anglers and viewers (Fennell, 2014: 984).

In addition to a detailed discussion of various ethical positions adopted in the treatment of animals in tourism, Fennell argues that the moral boundaries of the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics should be expanded to incorporate an 11th Article that addresses the respect and welfare of animals used in the tourism industry. Responsible tourism "could be made more inclusive and thus more effective as an agent of positive change" (Fennell, 2014: 985).

The ethical connections being sketched out here therefore, expand from the environmental / ecosystem health that has been historically privileged in sustainable development and sustainable tourism to encompass the health of animals and the health of humans in relation to physical, psychological, emotional and social-cultural health, such as related to their relationships to the non-human world (human-environmental relationships, as referred to earlier). The philosopher Martha Nussbaum, forwards a theoretical paradigm commonly known in the development and policy world as the "Human Development Approach" or "Capabilities Approach" that is worth noting here. As shown in *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development* (Nussbaum, 2011), she offers an alternative view

towards development and justice that is grounded in the everyday, local context of humans and non-humans. Arguing that justice and policy in decent political order should be oriented towards meeting the fundamental needs of dignity and self-respect (and a minimally flourishing life), she forwards ten Central Capabilities that must be secured at a threshold level at least. These are defined on page 33 of Nussbaum's (2011) book under the following headings: (1) Life, (2) Bodily Health, (3) Bodily Integrity, (4) Senses, imagination, and thought, (5) Emotions, (6) Practical Reason, (7) Affiliation, (8) Other species, (9) Play, and (10) Control over one's environment. Bodily health, love, care, and being "able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature" (Nussbaum, 2011: 34) are themes in this chapter that resonate strongly with Nussbaum's "Capabilities Approach". Her theory encompasses human, environmental and animal health (see her discussion on animal entitlements, pages 157-163, in Nussbaum, 2011), and lend further support to forwarding a new, holistic health-based metaphor and approach to replace Eurocentric discourses of sustainable development and sustainable tourism, and all the challenges associated with them (see critiques earlier in this chapter). Such a paradigm shift towards a holistic, integrated health based paradigm is further explored below.

(iii) The Global Sustainable Tourism Council

The Global Sustainable Tourism Council (GSTC) is a relatively recent initiative that has adopted sustainable management principles that attend to health, as well as environmental and cultural heritage. This global membership council was established in August 2010, to promote the learning, understanding and adoption of sustainable tourism practices (see Bricker and Schultz, 2012). Endorsed by the United Nations programs (i.e., UNWTO, UNEP), it serves as an umbrella organization, hosting businesses, governments, non-governmental organizations, academia, and communities engaged in and striving to achieve sustainable tourism (GSTC 2010). The GSTC established 37 baseline criteria organized around four pillars intended to guide tourism business towards sustaining the world's natural and cultural resources while ensuring tourism meets its potential as a tool for conservation and poverty alleviation (GTSC 2014). The four pillars are:

- Pillar A: Effective sustainability planning and management
- Pillar B: Maximizing social and economic benefits to the local community
- Pillar C: Maximizing benefits and reducing negative impacts to cultural heritage
- Pillar D: Maximizing benefits and reducing negative impacts to the natural environment

The social-cultural dimensions are especially important considerations in tourism development as sustainable certification programs and partnerships tend to primarily emphasize environmental management (e.g., energy efficiency, waste management, water-use efficiency, environmentally-friendly product purchasing and minimizing products with toxic characteristics, guest and staff education). The GSTC criteria under Pillars 1 and 2 are especially illustrative of the relevance of health. As excerpted and shown in Table 1, GSTC criteria A.1, A.2, A.3, and B.1 mention "health" directly, in terms of physical health (B.9 relates to physical health as well, regarding sanitation). Additional criteria relate to environmental health (e.g., conservation criteria D.1–3), social-cultural well-being of visitors (e.g., A.6.2 relates to respect for local cultural and environmental heritage during site development; A.6.4 addresses access for people with special needs; A.7 and C.1 focus on visitor learning and appropriate behavior), and of local residents, including gender equality and anti-discriminatory practices (see B.3, B.6, B.7, B.8, on economic justice, fair labor practices, equity and fairness for women and children, countering sexual exploitation, etc.). Social and cultural heritage and well-being are also addressed extensively under pillar C in the GSTC criteria list.

The GSTC's sustainable tourism management criteria (Table 1.) reflect the importance of addressing both health and development from a multifaceted, interrelated perspective (environmental, social-cultural, and economic). However, an effective health-based development paradigm must ensure that crucial intangible considerations that are difficult to "measure" scientifically are incorporated. Not mentioned in the criteria listed under pillar C or any of the other GSTC pillars are cultural and heritage dimensions such as human-environmental relationships and the human-animal bond; these are especially important to consider from an

emotional, psychological, cultural and, for many, a spiritual health perspective. A holistic health-based paradigm that is currently gaining popularity globally and locally is One Health, which is described and explored below in terms of its potential to inform sustainable tourism development and management. It offers the potential for future development as a metaphor or framework to address the various issues and omissions outlined above. Its integrated approach includes animals, which is well supported by various theoretical and practical perspectives on health in development and tourism such as discussed above.

A Healthy Paradigm Shift To…One Health?

In all of the instances cited above, individual health (physical, psychological) is closely related to environmental health, societal health, and social-cultural relations with the human animal and non-human animal world. Whether in rural or urban domains, human-environmental relations play a crucial role in influencing conservation and sustainability decisions. The human-animal bond plays similarly important roles in relation to human health (physical and emotional), animal welfare, as well as policy-planning for outdoor recreation (e.g., bird watching, dog parks), and protected areas facilitating nature-based experiences. These dimensions are especially evident in the emerging global discourse of One Health.

One Health originated at the local level in relation to human-livestock health and disease issues in (East) Africa in the 1970s. The term has been attributed to Calvin Schwabe (he used the term "One Medicine"), but it has been argued that the foundation of the One Health concept can be traced back to the time of Hippocrates and later to the likes of Virchow and others (Schwabe, 1968, 1984). Health, holistically, rather than economy is the crux of a One Health approach. According to the World Health Organization, "[h]ealth is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity."[5] Its scope,

5 *This definition has not been amended since 1948, see: Preamble to the Constitution of the World Health Organization as adopted by the International Health Conference, New York, June 19–22, 1946; signed on 22 July 1946 by the representatives of 61 States (Official Records of the World Health Organization, no. 2, p. 100) and entered into force on 7 April 1948.*

A. Demonstrate Effective Sustainable Management

The company has implemented a long-term sustainability management system that is suitable to its reality and scale, and that considers environmental, sociocultural, quality, health, and safety issues.

The company is in compliance with all relevant international or local legislation and regulations (including, among others, health, safety, labor, and environmental aspects).

All personnel receive periodic training regarding their role in the management of environmental, sociocultural, health, and safety practices.

Customer satisfaction is measured and corrective action taken where appropriate.

Promotional materials are accurate and complete and do not promise more than can be delivered by the business.

Design and construction of buildings and infrastructure:

a. comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements;
b. respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition;
c. use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction;
d. provide access for persons with special needs.

1. Information about and interpretation of the natural surroundings, local culture, and cultural heritage is provided to customers, as well as explaining appropriate behavior while visiting natural areas, living cultures, and cultural heritage sites.

B. Maximize Social and Economic Benefits to the Local Community and Minimize Negative Impacts

1. The company actively supports initiatives for social and infrastructure community development including, among others, education, health, and sanitation.
2. Local residents are employed, including in management positions. Training is offered as necessary.
3. Local and fair-trade services and goods are purchased by the business, where available.
4. The company offers the means for local small entrepreneurs to develop and sell sustainable products that are based on the area's nature, history, and culture (including food and drink, crafts, performance arts, agricultural products, etc.).
5. A code of conduct for activities in indigenous and local communities has been developed, with the consent of and in collaboration with the community.
6. The company has implemented a policy against commercial exploitation, particularly of children and adolescents, including sexual exploitation.
7. The company is equitable in hiring women and local minorities, including in management positions, while restraining child labor.
8. The international or national legal protection of employees is respected, and employees are paid a living wage.
9. The activities of the company do not jeopardize the provision of basic services, such as water, energy, or sanitation, to neighboring communities.

Table 1: Pillars A and B (excerpted) of the four pillars of the Global Sustainable Tourism Council Criteria (GTSC, 2014)

scale and significance have expanded since then into a holistic approach to health that jointly addresses human health and environmental sustainability with concrete policies and actions.[6] The intricate relationship between public health and environmental conservation is evident in the One Health Commission's policy-linked research initiative HEAL (Health & Ecosystems: Analysis of Linkages), whose stated purpose is to "[i]ncrease support for integrated public health and environmental conservation initiatives as intimately related, interdependent challenges, to ultimately improve public health outcomes, equity, and resilience for some of the world's poorest people while simultaneously conserving some of the most important landscapes and seascapes left on earth."[7] As such, it represents a significant paradigm shift in the way knowledge, attitudes and actions are initiated in relation to environmental conservation and sustainable development.

Various elaborations of One Health over the past three decades have clearly encapsulated mental, physical, spiritual and social-cultural health in the meaning of human health, with close interrelationships to healthy economies and a *healthy* biophysical world. The concept of One Health has long been championed by the veterinary profession largely due to the fact that, on a global level, the human-animal-environment health model emerged as a means to address human-animal interactions that result in emerging and re-emerging zoonotic diseases. Although important, the animal component of One Health goes far beyond infectious diseases. Healthy animals contribute to the health and well-being of humans through the prevention of foodborne illnesses, the contribution of draught power, and providing assistance to the disabled (service dogs, therapy dogs, therapeutic riding horses, etc.) and those in distress (search and rescue dogs, emotional support animals, etc.). Animals are also closely linked to the livelihood and socioeconomic stability of millions of people around the world, including small-scale agriculturalists, pastoralists,

6 *See, for example the 2004 Manhattan Principles on "One World, One Health," and the One Health Commission based in Ames, Iowa (USA): https://www.onehealthcommission.org/en/resources/health__ecosystems_analysis_of_linkages_heal/. Accessed 6/10/2013.*

7 *https://www.onehealthcommission.org/en/resources/health__ecosystems_analysis_of_linkages_heal/. Accessed on June 10, 2013.*

and those that rely on healthy wildlife to attract tourism dollars to their communities (e.g. community-based conservation programs like Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) (Mbaiwa, 2010). Public health, food safety, food security, bioterrorism/defense are all imbricated in this local-global picture of human health (VetMed, 2014).

Generalized systems dynamic frameworks of One Health such as forwarded by Zinsstag et al. (2011) thus approach health within social-ecological systems. In this model, ecosystem health entails human health, animal health, plant health, and environmental health interacting as a system. The social-cultural-economic-political determinants and outcomes of health include governance, infrastructure, education, public and animal health systems, livelihoods, access, resilience, equity, etc. The ecological determinants and outcomes of health involve "sustainability," resiliency and adaptive management. The key principles enabling this include multi-stakeholder, cross-disciplinary collaboration at the local, national and global level to attain sustainable and optimal outcomes for the ecosystem. Sustainability challenges related to increased disease transmission (due to mobile flows of labor, visitors, etc.), unequal development, poverty and disease, climate change, species loss, and environmental degradation are multifactorial in nature, requiring interdisciplinary collaboration and transdisciplinary solutions. Hence, rather than a new paradigm represented by concentric circles where "Earth's life support systems" is the outermost circle that encircles "Society" and a core represented by "Economy," such as proposed by Griggs et al. (2013a, b), it can be argued that sustainable development in the Anthropocene would be better served by a holistic health-based approach. A One Health perspective, for example, could be illustrated by overlapping circles that demonstrated the interrelatedness of environment, animal health and human health (Figure 1). It is from this interrelated, embodied perspective that a reformulation of sustainable development can be proposed, with implications then for urban-rural development and sustainable tourism development.

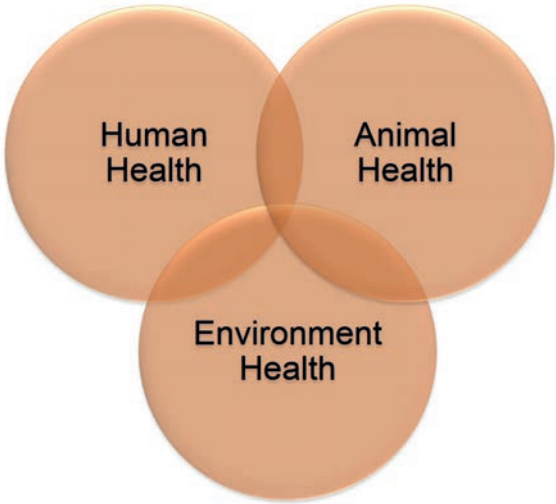

Figure 1. Visual Representation of the One Health Concept

Such a health-based metaphor and vision addresses ecosystem health and its intrinsic interrelationships with healthy societies, healthy communities, healthy economies and healthy livelihoods. Physical and emotional health and well-being through outdoor recreation, nature-based experiences, leisure-social activities in public squares and walking areas, receives just attention in this paradigm shift. Food safety and public health, epidemiology and transmission of disease from animals to humans (or vice versa), become more evident considerations in agricultural and farm-based tourism, ecotourism and rural tourism. This embodied (One)Health paradigm holistically addresses emotional and psychological health, intangible relationships (e.g., human-environmental and human-animal bonds), and development that is ethically responsible and properly gendered, embracing feminine values such as care, and confronting gendered inequalities in development, including women's economic and cultural roles in relationship to agriculture, land, and traditional knowledge /food in the developing world (see Smith and Duffy, 2003). The GSTC criteria described earlier offer useful guidance to complement emerging frameworks like One Health to support a gendered, health-based paradigm shift for sustainable tourism development.

New Directions Forward: Health and Sustainable (Tourism) Development

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and post-MDG initiatives point towards pressing sustainability issues in the 21st century. As noted by Griggs et al. (2013a, b), the Anthropocene is characterized by challenging human-induced effects (climate change, foodborne diseases and infections, issues of global food security and food safety, population growth, etc.) that require transformative, transdisciplinary solutions to deal with complex interrelationships and interdependencies (e.g., between poverty alleviation and environmental health). The critiques of sustainable development and sustainable tourism presented earlier point to the need to better address development-related issues, including environmental, socio-economic, cultural and political inequities that impact on health and well-being (individually and holistically), for instance, the physical health of women (consider environmental justice issues, sex tourism; see Jeffreys, 1999), their roles in poverty alleviation and their relationship to land and "Nature" (see for example: Merchant, 1980; Shiva, 1988; Tucker and Boonabana, 2012). While new institutional imperatives such as the Global Sustainable Tourism Council and revisions of sustainable development such as Grigg's et al.'s (2013a, b) are being proposed to tackle these complex domains, we argue that they remain insufficient for re-thinking sustainable development and tourism development. One has to be especially watchful for the Enlightenment driven, Eurocentric and modernist discourses embedded in various formulations of "sustainable development" and sustainable tourism (Jamal, Camargo and Wilson, 2013). What is needed is an alternative vision, one that is fair, equitable and inclusive, incorporating other (gendered) voices, other (traditional, local) knowledge and other (human-environmental/human-animal) relationships that are important to planetary sustainability and the well-being of its diverse inhabitants.

We argue here for an integrated health-based paradigm for sustainable tourism that paves the way for new sensitivities, feminine concerns and intangible values like emotion, love, care, and health to help address the MDGs and post-MDGs. We use the emerging global paradigm of "One Health" to illustrate this revised approach to sustainable tourism development. It is a holistic, embodied approach that encompasses mi-

cro-macro interrelationships of human *health* and environmental health (ecosystems and animals included, see Figure 1) that help to transcend associated injustices (e.g., economic and gender inequality, social inequities and cultural racism). Evolving from a developing world, grass roots, micro-level perspective, One Health addresses complex social dynamics, human-environmental relationships (ethical, cultural, social and psychological), and human-animal interactions (e.g., disease transmission, food and health hazards, human-animal bonds). A rich base of literature on human development and international development such as Nussbaum's (2011) Capabilities Approach offers the potential for theoretically exploring perspectives such as One Health.

A re-framing of sustainable tourism development, indeed a paradigm shift, is especially needed as we move forward to tackle increasingly deepening concerns about climate change and other environmental, social-political uncertainties in the Anthropocene. Increased mobilities of work force and leisure travelers, and increased migrations of climate refugees forecast in the 21st century will require much closer attention to public health and safety as the transmission of infectious diseases continues to rise as well (Conrad et al., 2013; see also Dredge and Jamal, 2013, and *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, special issue on Mobilities, 2013). Increasing challenges are also anticipated for the over one billion rural inhabitants and their livestock and crops (where woman play a crucial role in rural agriculture-based economies), while the human-animal bond and animal welfare may come under increased scrutiny from a variety of perspectives (methane reduction, consuming less meat, etc.). An integrated health oriented reformulation of sustainable development (e.g., One Health, Figure 1), supported by additional sustainability principles and criteria like the GSTC ones that address environmental and cultural heritage, enables a fairer, more equitable and just framework to guide sustainable tourism development and management (see also Jamal and Camargo, 2014).

Transformative thinking and transdisciplinary action are required to enable such a paradigm shift in order to address crucial issues areas related to planetary health and individual-social sustainability in the Anthropocene (Scholsberg, 2013). These issues pertain closely to the subjects of climate change and justice issues related to environment, culture and society (e.g., climate justice, cultural survival and societal norms

for sustainable consumption), economics and policy (e.g., reducing income inequality and gender injustices), and education and behavior (e.g., to facilitate ethical behavior towards women and respect for nature). Cross-disciplinary teams willing to collaborate and engage in methodologies unfamiliar to their own fields of study and expertise, development of new transdisciplinary approaches and competencies, and the building of synergies through joint inputs and explorations are essential to enable effective solutions to local-global health issues. The stakeholders for enabling such an integrated health-based paradigm would range from local level ones (including local government, local communities, women, diverse and minority populations) to regional (including protected area managers) and global stakeholders (including United Nations organizations like the World Tourism Organization and World Health Organization). Local to global civil service organizations and NGOs constitute key stakeholders in sustainable development, and would include non-profits oriented towards human, environmental and animal health in the One Health approach (for example, animal welfare group as discussed by Fennell, 2014).

Further research is needed on such a health-based paradigm shift to sustainable development and sustainable tourism, where the indicators for a healthy destination, healthy livelihoods, and healthy communities are embodied, gendered, just and equitable key principles for sustainability. They would also include consideration of intangible aspects (perhaps addressed more qualitatively than quantitatively), such as related to environmental ethics (e.g., human-environmental relationships) and social justice (e.g., community and women's empowerment). Approaches like pro-poor tourism currently lack a strong theoretical and ethical framework (paradigm) to guide sustainability-oriented priorities (e.g., the interrelated challenge of poverty alleviation and biodiversity conservation). Some future research questions that this chapter raises are:

- How are the interrelated issues of gender and nature being addressed in various sustainability-oriented forms of tourism and ecotourism?
- How can feminist and ecofeminist critique help to understand and address the apparent lacunae?

- How well can the health-based paradigm bridge current gaps between rural development, rural tourism and pro-poor tourism (e.g., in relation to human-animal health in subsistence economies, or traditional medicinal knowledge in the context of women, gender and development)?

Furthermore, is there room within the holistic health paradigm for different sub-paradigms that address different health-related contexts? It would seem that One Health, for instance, could be particularly relevant to sustainable rural tourism (development). Originating as it did in traditional rural agriculture, animals are an integral part of One Health. This is especially important in the context of rural development, where many (not all) subsistence livelihoods and rural economies depend on healthy animals (from both food safety and human health and nutrition perspectives, and for rural activities such as farm-based tourism, community-based wildlife conservation and ecotourism, etc.). Yet it is arguably no less important in urban environments and in biodiversity conservation; human-environmental relationships, human-animal bonds and interactions have deeply personal and cultural meanings, influencing the design, development and conservation of natural areas for public and recreational uses. Future research is merited to examine the potential of One Health as a holistic health paradigm to inform sustainable (tourism) development in both the urban and rural context.

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Tourism has been advocated as a tool for socio-economic progress in the Global South for over three decades, however, the internationalization of emerging tourism economies aggravated rather than alleviated inequalities on local levels. Given that the bulk of sustainable tourism literature remains on the level of international policy measures (and the critique of these), we know little about how development in practice is connected to transnational mobilities and tourism flows and the impact of these on communities in Global South. There is a need for not only revising large-scale policy initiatives but also to analyze the micro-level dynamics of contemporary community-based tourism initiatives. This anthology integrates research advances from sustainable tourism and development studies and offers selected contributions discussing the nexus of communities in the Global South with pro-poor sustainable tourism and development. As such, the book attempts to integrate approaches from development studies with tourism studies and to identify common grounds for future research endeavours.